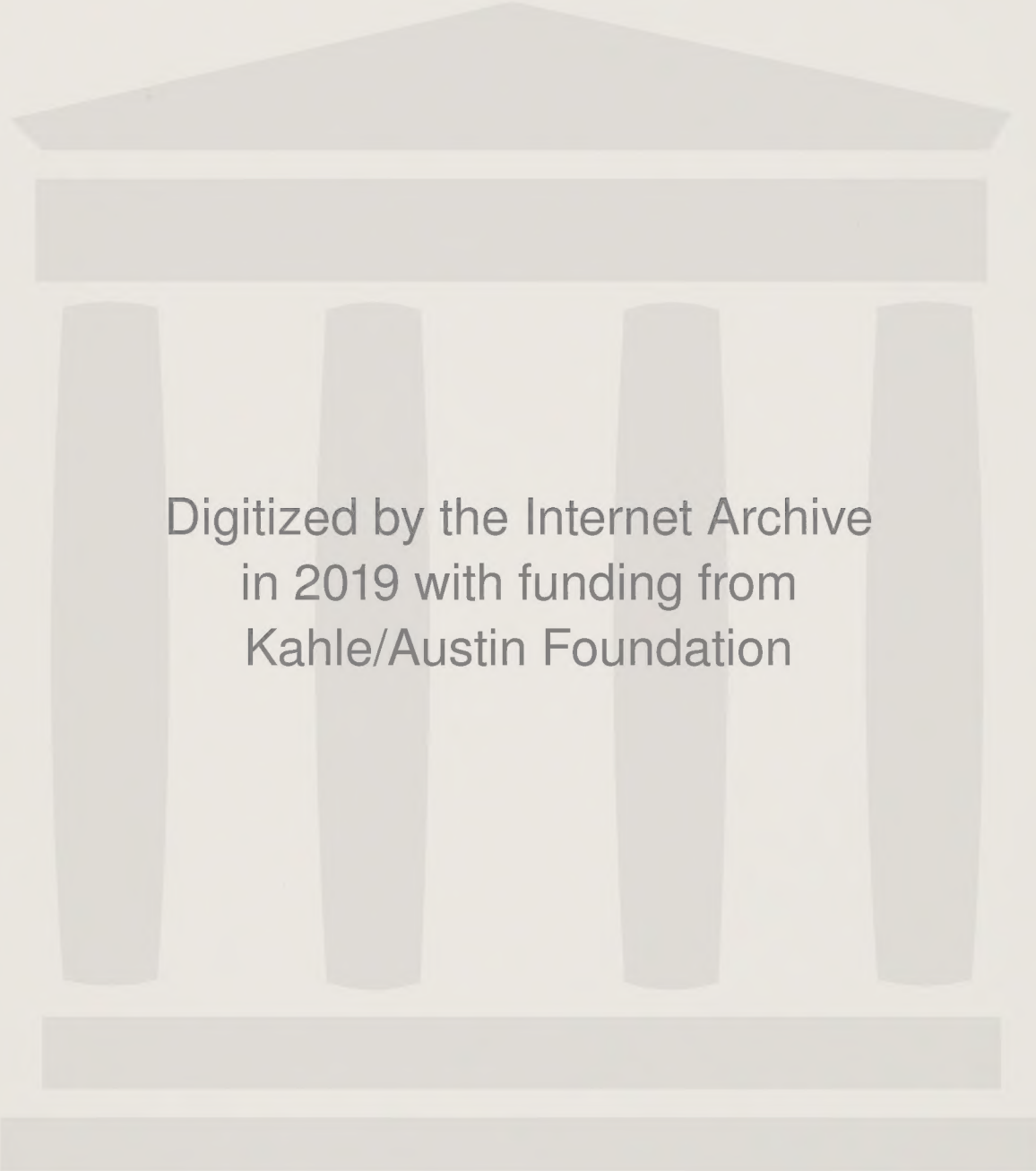


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OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI
VOLUME XXXVI



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THE OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI

VOLUME XXXVI

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PREFACE

MANY scholars have had a share in the production of this part. Twenty-three texts have been contributed to it by Dr. A. H. Soliman el-Mosallamy of Cairo, U.A.R.; nine by John Rea; six by Dr. Daniele Foraboschi of the Università degli Studi, Milan; five each by Dr. R. A. Coles of Oxford and Dr. Ursula Schlag of the University of Kiel; three by Miss Anna Swiderek of the University of Warsaw; two by Dr. David Rokeah of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem; one each by Dr. Gerald M. Browne (Harvard University), David Jordan (Brown University), and Professor A. H. R. E. Paap (University of Cape Town). Most of these texts are documentary. But there are a few pieces of extant classical authors (2747–2751), and 2745 and 2746 offer an unusual theological and literary type of text.

After twenty years signal service Mr. T. C. Skeat has withdrawn from the joint editorship of the Graeco-Roman Memoirs. His colleague would like to express his gratitude for the care, conscientiousness, and brilliant emendations of his period of office. The general editorship has been reconstituted as a triumvirate, and Mr. P. J. Parsons and Dr. J. R. Rea have taken his place.

At the end of the volume is a short appendix of additions and corrections to papyri published by the Egypt Exploration Society. It has no claim to completeness, being merely a collection of matters that came to our notice since the idea arose of calling attention to new readings somewhat earlier than can be done by the *Berichtigungsliste*. Contributions for publication from those who have occasion to modify texts in the Graeco-Roman Memoirs will be gratefully received and acknowledged in later volumes.

The editors would like to acknowledge the care and helpfulness of the Oxford University Press in the printing of this part. They would also like to thank Mr. W. E. H. Cockle for assistance with the proof reading, and with the preparation of the plates. John Rea has made the index.

P. J. PARSONS

J. R. REA

E. G. TURNER

*General Editors of the
Graeco-Roman Memoirs*

January 1970

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GMB = Gerald M. Browne

RAC = R. A. Coles

DF = Daniele Foraboschi

DJ = David Jordan

AHSE-M = Abdulla Hassan Soliman el-Mosallamy

AHREP = A. H. R. E. Paap

JRR = J. R. Rea

DR = David Rokeah

US = Ursula Schlag

AS = Anna Swiderek

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NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND ABBREVIATIONS

THE method of publication follows that adopted in Part XXXIV. As there, the dots indicating letters unread and, within square brackets, the estimated number of lost letters are printed slightly below the line. In the new literary texts, corrections and annotations which appear to be in a different hand from that of the original scribe are printed in thick type. Non-literary texts are printed in modern form, with accents and punctuation, the lectional signs occurring in the papyri being noted in the *apparatus criticus*, where also faults of orthography, &c., are corrected. Iota adscript is printed where written, otherwise iota subscript is used. Square brackets [] indicate a lacuna, round brackets () the resolution of a symbol or abbreviation, angular brackets < > a mistaken omission in the original, braces { } a superfluous letter or letters, double square brackets [] a deletion, the signs ` ' an insertion above the line. Dots within brackets represent the estimated number of letters lost or deleted, dots outside brackets mutilated or otherwise illegible letters. Dots under letters indicate that the reading is doubtful. In the new literary texts letters not read or marked as doubtful in the literal transcript may be read or appear without the dot marking doubt in the reconstruction if the context justifies this. Lastly, heavy Arabic numerals refer to Oxyrhynchus papyri printed in this and preceding volumes, ordinary numerals to lines, small Roman numerals to columns.

The abbreviations used are in the main identical with those in E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri: an Introduction* (1968). It is hoped that any new ones will be self-explanatory.

I. THEOLOGICAL TEXT

2745. ONOMASTICON OF HEBREW NAMES

16 × 16.7 cm.

Third/fourth century

The recto contains part of a land register written in large cursive letters with wide spaces between the lines. The script is comparable to that of plates 34*b*, 36, and 37 of Schubart's *Papyri Graecae Berolinenses*, which are of the first (plate 34*b*) and second (plates 36, 37) halves of the third century A.D. Professor E. G. Turner has assigned it to the end of the second century A.D. The verso contains three columns of clear uncial script of a type common in literary papyri. It is assigned by Professor Turner to the end of the third century A.D., although a later date (fourth century) cannot altogether be excluded. The formation of the letters ω and ν is instructive in this respect (cf. 2263; PSI 1337).

The verso is apparently part of a far larger compilation of names and etymologies. Of the three columns which appear, columns A and C contain some thirty-five Hebrew proper names, all beginning with the letter *I*, and column B provides an etymological interpretation of the names in column A. A few letters of an earlier column appear at the lower left of column A. These letters were probably part of another column of interpretations.

The compiler of this list drew extensively upon the Septuagint; this is proved by the occurrence of such obscure names from the genealogical lists in Genesis and Chronicles as Iemouel, Iamein, Iereioth, Iekemia, Ierkaan, and Iebaal. Iemouel and Iamein even follow one another (A5, 6) as in the genealogical list in Genesis 46: 10. The repetition of two names, Iamein and Ioab, in columns A (6, 11) and C (9, 7) can perhaps be explained by the hypothesis that the compiler copied out and interpreted indiscriminately in sequence every name occurring in every book of the Old Testament, regardless of its having appeared earlier. A similar pattern is found in the work of Hieronymus.

There are obvious mistakes in some of the Greek words in the list: for example, $\kappa\upsilon\nu\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\sigma\alpha$ is used instead of $\kappa\upsilon\nu\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha$ (B8), and an unknown form $\alpha\nu\alpha\nu\epsilon\nu\alpha\nu\varsigma\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ appears (B16). There is therefore little to wonder at in the corrupt transcription of some of the Hebrew names. For these garbled Hebrew names (e.g. C12 $\text{I}\alpha\epsilon\kappa$, C18 $\text{I}\omega\varsigma\eta\rho$) there are no parallels in the Septuagint, and, even where the interpretation is extant, it is difficult to determine the original form of the names (e.g. AB9 $\text{I}\epsilon\mu\alpha\rho\epsilon\mu\omicron\iota\kappa\tau\iota\rho\mu\omicron\varsigma$).

With the help of this papyrus, the Heidelberg papyrus (P. Heidelberg i, pp. 86 seqq.), and Hieronymus' Onomasticum (= *Liber interpretationis Hebraicorum nominum*, vol. lxxii of the *Corpus Christianorum*, Series Latina, 1959), the existing late-Greek

onomastica (= Onomasticum Coislinianum, Onomastica Vaticana, Glossae Colbertinae (edited P. de Lagarde, *Onomastica Sacra* i, 1870)) can be traced to a much earlier date. Especially instructive is the agreement between **2745** and the Onomastica in rare words and unusual forms, e.g. AB₄ *Ιαβειϛ ξη[ρ]αϛμοϛ η αιϛχυ[νη]*, Vat. OS 192, 81 *Ιαβιϛ ξηραϛμοϛ ἡ αἰχύνη*; AB₁₂ *Ιωναδαβ Ιαω εκουϛιοτηϛ*, Coisl. OS 170, 7 *Ιωναδαβ . . . Ιαω ἐκουσιότηϛ*.

Further comment becomes speculative. The implications of this fragment are discussed more fully in D. Rokeah, 'A New Onomasticon Fragment from Oxyrhynchus and Philo's Etymologies', *JTS* 19 (1968) pp. 70–82. Mr. Rokeah summarizes: 'The authorship of the extant Greek onomastica is hesitantly ascribed to Philo by Eusebius and Hieronymus (Eusebius, *HE* ii 18, 7; Hieronymus, *Liber* . . . etc., p. 29). The abundance of Hebrew etymologies in Philo probably led to this mistaken conclusion; it has also caused a difference of opinion among modern scholars as to his knowledge of Hebrew (summarized by Hanson, "Philo's Etymologies", *JTS* xviii (1967), pp. 128–39). Amir's recent arguments ("Explanation of Hebrew Names in Philo", *Tarbiz* xxxi (1961–2), p. 297 (Hebrew)) seem to be convincing in this respect. He drew attention to the fact that it is only in translating the name Jethro that Philo uses the form *περιϛϛόϛ*; otherwise only the form *περιττόϛ* is employed. From this practice, Amir rightly inferred that Philo must have copied from a written list in these cases. An entry in our papyrus (AB₁₅); *Ιεθερ περιϛϛοϛ* adds weight to this argument.

'Just as the assumption that Philo knew Hebrew in any degree cannot be upheld, so the attempt to establish connections or influences of Rabbinic exegetical methods and traditions on Philo's allegorical interpretations (e.g. those of S. Belkin, "The Exegesis of Names in Philo", *Horeb* xii (1956), pp. 3–62 (Hebrew)) must be rejected. All that can be said is that since the starting-point of both Philo and the Midrash was the etymological meaning of the Hebrew names, it was inevitable that some similarities should exist.

'An analysis of the entries in our papyrus (see especially AB₁₁ and A₂₀, B₂₀–1) makes it obvious that the compiler was strongly attached to the Septuagint translation, which he constantly compared with the Hebrew version; by this method he extracted and offered his etymological interpretations.

'Our papyrus contributes to a more definite negative judgement upon Philo's knowledge of Hebrew. Since this anonymous work clearly preceded Philo's, its first compilation should be placed in the late third or early second century B.C., as both a concomitant to the Septuagint translation and a mine of information for the enormous literary activity which came in its wake.'

E. G. Turner comments: 'Mr. Rokeah wishes to maintain his confidently expressed opinion that **2745** can be linked with an onomasticon compiled before the time of Philo and utilized by him. It must, however, be pointed out that the use of a *nomen sacrum* (B₅, θ₅) in **2745** demonstrates that this text was copied by a Christian scribe, not a Jewish one, and was probably written in a Christian ambience. Origen is said

by Jerome (*Corpus Christianorum* lxxii 59–60) to have worked in this field, and certainly to have compiled an interpretation of New Testament Hebrew names. Jerome's words, "laboravit ut, quod Philo quasi Iudaeus omiserat, hic [Origenes] ut Christianus impleret", might be taken to mean that he supplemented Philo's interpretation of Old Testament Hebrew names. It therefore becomes necessary to ask, as Mr. Rokeah does not do, whether this text is a copy of part of an onomasticon compiled by Origen. Its palaeographical date is entirely suitable.'

↓	A		B		C
			β[]		
	[		κω[]ςις		
	Ιεβ[		παρ[]μα		[. . . .]ιου
	Ιαβεις		ξη[ρ]ασιμος η αιςχυ[νη]		Ιως[εδ]εκ
5	Ιεμουηλ	5	ημεραι αυτου θυ	5	Ιαχειμ
	Ιαμειν		δεξις		Ιεσαι
	Ισσαρων		ηλαιομενος		Ιωαβ
	Ιθαμαρ		συντελεσα πικρια[]		Ιερειωθ
	Ιεμαρεμ		οικτιριμος		Ιαμειν
10	Ιωηλ	10	απαρχομενος	10	Ιδα[
	Ιωαβ		Ιαω ιςχυς		Ιεσει[
	Ιωναδαβ		Ιαω εκουσιότης		Ιαεκ[
	Ιωχαζ		Ιαω κατασχεςις		Ι.υ[
	Ιωφαλες		Ιαω διδασκαλος		Ιεκεμ[ια]
15	Ιεθερ	15	περιςσος	15	Ιερκ.[
	Ιααλ		ανανενανςμενος		Ιερκα[αν]
	Ιωιαδε		Ιαω γνωσις		Ιωση[
	[Ιω]αμων		πιστις		Ιωσηρ[
	Ιωζαχα[ρ]		Ιαω μνημη		Ιεφθου[
20	Ι[ελιε(?)]ζερ	20	Ιαω βοηθια	20	Ιαβη[
	Ι[ωσαβ]εε		Ιαω πληςμονη η Ιαω		Ιεβαλ[λ]
			εβδομον		Ιανω[
					Ιελιφ[

To the left, ends of lines of a previous column: opp. A 15 .τω, opp. A 19]σηπ.λη

AB4 Ιαβεις ξη[ρ]ασιμος η αιςχυ[νη]: Hebrew שִׁיחַ. The Septuagint has only ξηρασία, ξηρός, ξηρότης; the form ξηρασιμός is rare in Greek: Erotianus, p. 13, line 21 Nachmanson has ανασμόν· ξηρασιμόν. Vat. OS 192, 81 Ιαβις ξηρασιμος η αιςχύνη η πλατυςμος ακρος. Coisl. OS 167, 26 Ιαβεις συνετός, ξηρός συνιών. Hieron. CC 102, 2 Iabes exsiccata vel siccitas; 104, 1 Iabes exsiccata.

AB5 *Ιεμουηλ ήμέραι αὐτοῦ θς*: Hebrew יְמוּאֵל. Vat. OS 178, 88 *Ιεμουηλ δεξιὰ ἰχυροῦ*. Coisl. OS 168, 52 *Ιεμουηλ θάλασσα θεοῦ, θαλάσσας*. Hieron. CC 68, 24 (cf. 76, 24) *Iamuhel* [*Iemuel F, Iemuhel H*] dies eius deus. *θς* seems to be a scribe's mistaken correction for *θς*; this is corroborated by Hieronymus' Onomasticum and the meaning of the Hebrew. Whereas the meaning of the Coisl. ('God's sea') can be derived from the Hebrew, the Vat. probably transferred the etymology of the very similar name *Ιεμονηλ* (which is interpreted in the Vat. itself as *δεξιὰ ἰχυροῦ*) to *Ιεμουηλ*. On the contraction of sacred names see A. H. R. E. Paap, *Nomina Sacra* . . . etc., in *Pap. Lugd. Bat.* viii (1959), pp. 1-2, 124-6.

AB6 *Ιαμειν δεξιός*: Hebrew יָמִין. Coisl. OS 167, 34 *Ιαμειν δεξιός, πίστις, συνετός, δεξιού θεοῦ, μετέωρα*. Vat. OS 178, 88 *Ιαμιν δεξιὰ*. Hieron. CC 68, 25; 76, 24 *Iamin dextera*. *Iemuel* and *Iamin* follow one another in our papyrus just as in the Vat., Hieronymus, and the Old Testament (Gen. 46: 10; Exod. 6: 15).

AB7 *Ισσαρων ἡλαιωμένος*: Hebrew יִצְהָר. Hieron. CC 76, 25 *Iessaar est meridies sive meridianus aut unctio mea vel μεταφορικῶς oleum*. The Septuagint version is *Issaar*. 'Oiled, anointed' is expressed in the Septuagint by ἡλειμμένος, χριστός, but Hieronymus' translation is probably based on a similar interpretation in the Onomastica now missing. By *unctio mea* probably is intended the Hebrew *Ishari* (יִצְהָרִי). Whereas our papyrus aims at a literal translation, the somewhat similar Rabbinic exegesis is a play on the association 'oil'/'oiled'. See *Numbers Rabbah* (Korah) xviii 16 and parallels.

AB8 *Ιθαμαρ συντέλεσα πικρία(ς)*: Hebrew אִיתְמָר. *συντέλεσα* is probably a slip of the pen for *συντέλεια*. Vat. OS 192, 92 *Ιθαμαρ συντέλεια πικρίας ἢ οἰκτιρμός ἢ φοῖνιξ*. Coisl. OS 169, 79 *Ιθαμαρ πικρία, ἔστιν πικρός*. Hieron. CC 76, 27 *Ithamar ubi amarus vel ubi palma vel est amarus sive insulae palma*. The Hebrew word is split into two in the papyrus, and the 'm' repeated twice, *Itham-mar*, to yield two words, each explicable.

AB9 *Ιεμαρεμ οἰκτιρμός*. It is difficult to reconstruct the Hebrew. It might have been a corruption of *Iemarer* (יִמָּרֵר), but then we would expect the interpretation *οἰκτρός, οἶκτος*. On the other hand *οἰκτιρμός* is the equivalent of the Hebrew *Ieroam* (יְרוֹאֵם) (the Septuagint also has (1 Chr. 9: 12, MS. A) the version *Ιερααμ* (Luc. *Ιεροαμ*)) and of other names derived from the roots 'rahem' or 'hanon' (רַחֵם, חֲנוּן). Since the previous name *Ithamar* is interpreted in the Vat. OS 192, 92 by *συντέλεια πικρίας ἢ οἰκτιρμός*, and since an interpretation of one name might extend to two lines (e.g. B21-2), this might have happened here, with *Ιεμαρεμ* being added later mistakenly. The Coisl. has *inter alia οἰκτιρμός* for *Ιερμια* (OS 169, 62) and *Ιερια* (OS 168, 60). Hieron. CC 104, 29 has *Ieroam misericors*. The Heidelberg papyrus has [*Ιεραηλ οἰκτιρμού*. In his commentary, Deissmann said that *Ιεραηλ* was a scribal mistake for *Ιεραμαηλ*, and *οἰκτιρμού* for *οἰκτιρμός θεοῦ*, and adduced in comparison the Vat. (OS 192, 88) *Ιερεμehel οἰκτιρμός θεοῦ* and Hieron. (CC 104, 4) *Ierameheli misericordia dei mei*.

AB10 *Ιωηλ ἀπαρχόμενος*: Hebrew יוֹאֵל. Coisl. OS 170, 3 *Ιωηλ ἀόρατος θεός, ἔστιν θεός, ἐνέχθη πνεῦμα ὁ θεός, ἀπαρχόμενος, γεγωνὶς θεῷ θεός ἀόρατος*. Vat. OS 173, 65 *Ιωηλ ἀγαπητοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἀπαρχὴ θεοῦ*; *ibid.* 193, 9 *Ιωηλ ἀγαπητὸς κυρίου*. Coisl. OS 203, 100 *Ιωηλ ἔχει πνεῦμα θεοῦ*. Onom. March. (Klostermann, *ZATW* xxiii (1903), pp. 135-40), p. 138 *Ιωηλ ἰσχύς κυρίου*. Hieron. CC 104, 1 *Iohel incipiens vel fuit dei*; 124, 5 *Iohel incipiens vel est deus vel dei*; 146, 18 *Iohel incipiente deo sive est deus*. Melitonis clavis (I. B. Pitra, *Spicilegium Solesmense* iii (1855), pp. 395 seqq.) *Joel, incipiente Deo*. The Coisl. and the Latin onomastica support our papyrus as to the reading. (The Vat. OS 173, 65 . . . *ἀπαρχὴ θεοῦ* is perhaps also derived from the verb *ἀπάρχεσθαι*, but adopts a different meaning of the verb.) The meaning 'to begin' for the Hebrew 'Iaol' (יֹאֵל) is probably an elaboration of the Septuagint *ἄρχεσθαι* in Deut. 1: 5; ἡρξάτο (Hebrew 'ho'il' הוֹאִיל) *Μωσῆς διασαφῆσαι τὸν νόμον τοῦτον*. It is worth noting that the Hebrew verb usually means 'to be good enough, kind enough' and only here is translated differently.

AB11 *Ιωαβ Ιω ἰσχύς*: Hebrew יוֹאָב. Coisl. OS 170, 93 *Ιωαβ ἀόρατος πατήρ*. Vat. OS 193, 17 *Ιωαβ πατήρ κυρίου ἢ ἀγαπητός*. Heidelberg papyrus *Ιωβαβ ιω πατήρ* (Deissmann, 89, 6; he suggested this was a scribal mistake for *Ιωαβ*). Hieron. CC 104, 4 *Ioab inimicus vel est pater*; cf. *Genesis Rabbah* xciv 9 (ed. Theodor-Albeck, p. 1182), Slotki's translation: 'Thy name is Joab, . . . meaning that thou art a father (ab) . . .'. Ansileubi (Pitra, p. 396, 35) *Joab inimicus*. Although there is no parallel to the etymology of our papyrus (Vat. OS 186, 98 has, *inter alia, ἰσχύς θεοῦ* as an interpretation of *Αζαηλ*, and Coisl. OS 161, 10 has *ἰσχύς ἀοράτου* as one interpretation of *Αμασιας*) it no doubt existed, because it

derives clearly from the Septuagint and the Hebrew version. Isa. 49: 26 'abir Jacob' (אַבִּיר יַעֲקֹב) is translated ἰχὺς *Ιακωβ*, and elsewhere 'abbir' (אַבִּיר) is translated ἰχυρός (e.g. Judg. 5: 22; Lam. 1: 15). This explains why the compiler of our papyrus attributed to the Hebrew 'ab' (אַב) the otherwise non-existent meaning of 'might' (ἰχὺς).

AB12 *Ιωναδαβ Ιαω ἐκονσιότης*: Hebrew יְהוֹנָדָב. Coisl. OS 170, 7 *Ιωναδαβ ἀοράτου δυναστεία, Ιαω ἐκονσιότης*. Hieron. CC 107, 5 Ionadab domini spontaneus. This rare word is probably an elaboration of the Septuagint ἐκούσιος and ἐκονσιασμός for 'nadov' (נָדָב). The Thesaurus quotes few, mostly late, authorities (Memnon ap. Photium, Nicet., and Zonar.). Lampe's *Patristic Greek Lexicon* quotes Hesych. H., *Ps. tit.* 70 (M. 27, 931 C) *Ιωναδαβ γὰρ ἐρμηνεύεται θεοῦ ἐκονσιότης*.

AB13 *Ιωχαζ Ιαω κατάσχεσις*: Hebrew יְהוֹחָז. Coisl. OS 170, 99 *Ιωχαζ ἀοράτου κράτος, ἀοράτου δύναμις, ἀοράτου κατάσχεσις*. Vat. OS 193, 19 *Ιωχαρ κατάσχεσις κυρίου*; ibid. 193, 8 *Ιωχαζ κράτος κυρίου*. Heidl. papyrus (Deissmann, 89, 18) *Ιαχαζ* (a scribal mistake for *Ιωχαζ*, according to Deissmann) *ιαω κράτος*. Hieron. CC 116, 2 Ioaz ubi est retinere vel domini retentio. Melito (Pitra, p. 305) Joachaz, Robustus. Ansil. (Pitra, p. 396) Ioachaz robustus. The derivation of *Ιωχαζ κατάσχεσις* from the Septuagint is most likely, since *κατάσχεσις* there ('possession, holding, estate') is 'ahūza' (הֹזָא) in the Hebrew, and since *κατέχειν* means to 'hold, retain' ('ahōz': הֹזָא).

AB14 *Ιωφαλες Ιαω διδάσκαλος*. The small vertical stroke preserved of the λ is not very similar to the other lambdas (but compare the λ in B21), but there is not much choice. *Ιωφαλες* is nowhere to be found; the clue is perhaps in the equation *φαλες* = *φαρες*, and this Hebrew word (פָּרֵשׁ) is interpreted by *διδάσκειν* in the Septuagint (Neh. 8: 8).

AB15 *Ιεθερ περιερός*: Hebrew יֶתֶר. Coisl. OS 168, 50 *Ιεθερ περιττής*; ibid. 168, 51 *Ιεθραμ περιερός*. Vat. OS 179, 17 *Ιωθωρ περιερεία*; ibid. 193, 3 *Ιοδωρ περιττός*. Colb. OS 203, 94: *Ιωθωρ τυφλός ἢ περιερός*. Hieron. CC 75, 23 Iethro superfluous huius. The etymologies for Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses, have also been cited because Jethro is derived from the same Hebrew root as Iether. In fact, Jethro is once called Iether in the Hebrew (Exod. 4: 18), but the Septuagint has *Ιοθορ* just as when he is called Iethro in the Hebrew. In 1 Chr. 2: 17, the Hebrew Iether is also transcribed as *Ιοθορ* by MS. B (Luc. *Ιεθερ*). Philo stated three times (*De agricult.* 43; *De mut. nom.* 103; *De gig.* 50) that *Ιοθορ* means *περιερός*, whereas in all the other, numerous, cases he uses the form *περιττός*. This suggests that he must have been using one of our compilations since he himself did not know Hebrew. For a Rabbinic exegesis based on the etymology of Iether see *Mechilta*, Jethro, chap. i (ed. Horowitz-Rabin, p. 189), and parallels.

AB16 *Ιααλ ἀνανεανυσμένος*. Ia'al is the version of MS B (= Vat.) for *Iaap* in 1 Kgs. 14: 25. Ia'ar (יַעַר), meaning 'forest', was taken to be a place name by the Septuagint translator. The form *ἀνανύω* does not exist.

AB17 *Ιωιαδε Ιαω γνώσις*: Hebrew יְהוֹיָדֵעַ. Vat. OS 170, 1 *Ιωδαε ἀοράτου γνώσις, ἐξομολογουμένου*; ibid. 170, 5 *Ιωιαδα ἀοράτου γνώσις*. Coisl. OS 170, 94 *Ιωαδεμ ἀοράτου γνώσις*. Hieron. CC 116, 28 Ioiade (exactly as in our papyrus) domini cognitio; ibid. 108, 7 Ioiadahe domini cognitio sive ipso cognoscens; ib. 107, 5 Ioadae ipse cognoscens.

AB18 [*Ιω*]αμων πίσις. Coisl. OS 162, 19: *Αμνων* (v.l. *Αμμων*) *πίσις, ἰχυρός* . . .; ib. 170, 6 *Ιωμαν ἀοράτου πίσις*; ibid. 170, 96 *Ιωαμαν* (interpretation missing); Heidl. papyrus (Deissmann, 89, 5): *Ιωμαν ιαω πίσις*. The Septuagint has *Ιωμαν* in 1 Chr. 4: 19 (Luc. om.), but there is no Hebrew parallel.

AB19 *Ιωζαχα[ρ] Ιαω μνήμη*: Hebrew יוֹזָכָר [in 2 Kgs. 12: 21 (22) (A)]. Coisl. OS 168, 47 *Ιεζιχαρ ἀοράτου μνήμη*. Hieron. CC 116, 28 Iozachar domini memoria vel qui est memor. A small trace of the left edge of the α is recognizable.

AB20 [*ε*λιε(?)]ζερ *Ιαω βοήθεια*: Hebrew אֱלִיעֶזֶר (?). Vat. OS 182, 3 *Ελιεζερ θεοῦ βοήθεια*; ibid. 190, 36: *Ελιεζερ θεοῦ μου βοήθεια*. Coisl. OS 162, 31 *Ελεαζαρ θεοῦ βοήθεια, θεοῦ ἰχύς*. Philo, *Quis rer. div. haer.* 12 *Ἐλιέζερ, ὁ θεός μου βοηθός*. Hieron. CC 65, 3 Eliezer dei auxilium; ibid. 75, 5 Eliezer deus meus adiutor. Melito (Pitra, 304, 8) Eliezer, Dei adjutorium. The restoration *Ιελιεζερ* is forced on us by the large gap (of the same size as in the following line A21, where four letters fit into the gap), the *I* at the beginning of the word and the *ζερ* at the end, and the interpretation (*Ιαω βοήθεια*). The possibility of such a formation by the addition of an *I* is enhanced by 1 Macc. 2: 5, where we find the version *Ιελεαζαρος* (S*. Luc. *Ελεαζαρος*) for the Hebrew Eleazar. The existence of *Ιωκαβεε*—*Ελικαβε* (cf. A21) might have contributed to the conflation.

AB21 *I[ωσαβ]εε Iαω πλησμονή ἢ Iαω ἑβδομον*: Hebrew **יְהוֹשָׁבֶעַ**. Coisl. OS 171, 13 *Iωσαβεε ἀοράτου πλησμονή*. Vat. OS 176, 43 *Ελισαβετ θεοῦ μου πλησμονή*; *ibid.* 190, 37 *Ελισαβετ* [or *Ελισαβε*] *κυρίου ἀνάπαυσις ἢ πλησμονή*. Origenes (Redepenning, i 460) *Ελισαβετ θεοῦ μου ὄρκοι*. Hieron. CC 75, 2 *Elisabeth dei mei saturitas vel dei mei iuramentum aut dei mei septimus*; *ibid.* 116, 27 *Iosabe ubi est saturitas vel domini saturitas*. Since Jehoseba and Elisheba are of identical import in Hebrew, they are interpreted similarly by the various Onomastica. Of the four interpretations available (*πλησμονή*, *ἑβδομον*, *ὄρκος*, *ἀνάπαυσις*), our papyrus has only the first two. *ἑβδομον* is in the neuter because, as the Greek translation of the Hebrew 'sheva' (**שֶׁבַע**), it almost always accompanies a noun in the neuter (*ἑτος*). The one exception in a dozen cases is Job 5: 19; the compiler usually adopts the translation of the Septuagint, here and in other cases.

C4 *Iωξ[εδ]εξ*: Hebrew **יְהוֹשֻׁעַ**. Vat. OS 183, 27 *Iωξεδεκ δικαιοσύνη* (cf. *ibid.* 193, 21). Coisl. OS 171, 15 *Iωξεδεκ δικαιοσύνη λαοῦ, ἀοράτος δίκαιος*. Hieron. CC 124, 23 *Iosedec domini iustus sive iustificatus*.

C5 *Ιαχειμ*: Hebrew **יָחִין**. Coisl. OS 168, 42 *Ιαχιν ἡτοιμασμένος, ἔτοιμος*. Hieron. CC 68, 25 *Iachin praeparans* (cf. *ibid.* 76, 24).

C6 *Ιεσσαί*: Hebrew **יֵשַׁי**. Coisl. OS 169, 72 *Ιεσσαί κώζων, κώζοντα*. Vat. OS 174, 2 *Ιεσσαί ἀνάψυξις*; *ibid.* 175, 16 *Ιεσσαί νήσου κάρπωμα*; *ibid.* 192, 100 *Ιεσσαί ἀνάψυξις ἢ ἰσχυρὸς ἢ κάρπωμα*. Hieron. CC 104, 3 *Iessai insulae sacrificium vel incensum*; *ibid.* 111, 13 *Iessai insulae sacrificium vel holocaustum*; *ibid.* 146, 20 *Iessai insulae oblatio*; Melito (Pitra, 305, 32): *Gessai* [or *Jesse*] *Insulae Holocaustum vel sacrificium*.

C7 *Ιωαβ*. See AB11 above.

C8 *Ιερειωθ*: Hebrew **יֵרֵעִי**. In 1 Chr. 2: 18 (A) = *Ιεριωθ*; Luc. *Ιερειωθ*.

C9 *Ιαμειν*. See AB6 above.

C10 *Ιδα[]*. The Septuagint has *Ιδα*, *Ιδαι*, and *Ιδαερ*, which transcribe different Hebrew names.

C11 *Ιεσεει[]*. Perhaps a version of the Vat. OS 183, 28 *Ιεσειας*, and *ibid.* 184, 70 *Ιεσσιας*.

C12 *Ιαεκ[]*. Not found elsewhere. The Septuagint has many names which begin with *Ιεκ*.

C13 *Ι.υ[]*. The word might be *Ιωυαν* or *Ιουδας* (more likely). Both names have several interpretations in the Onomastica, among which Coisl. OS 169, 82 . . . *Iαω ἑξομολογούμενος* is noteworthy.

C14 *Ιεκεμ[ια]*: Hebrew **יֶקֶמֶץ**. In 1 Chr. 24: 23 (A), Luc. *Ιακαμιας*. The Coisl. OS 168, 53 has *Ιεκμααν* for **יֶקֶמֶץ** in 1 Chr. 6: 53, and *ibid.* 168, 52 *Ιεκενιας ἀνάστασις ἀοράτου*.

C15 *Ιερκ[]*. The word might be *Ιερκισ*, *Ιερκκ[]*, or *Ιερκισ[]*.

C16 *Ιερκα[αν]*: Hebrew **יֶרְקָא**. In 1 Chr. 2: 44 (A) bis, Luc. *Ιερεκαμ*.

C17 *Ιωση[φ]*: Hebrew **יֹסֵף**. There are many interpretations. We shall quote some as illustrations. Coisl. OS 171, 16 *Ιωσηφ Iαω προσθήκη*. Heidl. papyrus (Deissmann, 89, 15) [*Ιωσηφ Iαω πρόσθεμα*. Vat. OS 178, 8 *Ιωσηφ πρόσθεσις*. Colb. OS 203, 96 *Ιωσηφ πρόσθεσις*. Philo, *De Iosepho* 28 . . . *παρὰ μὲν Ἑβραίοις Ἰωσήφ καλεῖται, παρὰ δ' Ἑλλήσι "κυρίου πρόσθεσις"*. Hieron. CC 67, 20 *Ioseph augmentum*. Melito (Pitra, 303, 11) *Joseph Augmentatio sive ampliatio* . . .

C18 *Ιωσηρ[]*. Not found elsewhere. Perhaps equivalent to *Ιασηρ*.

C19 *Ιεφθου[]*. Perhaps a version of *Ιεφθονει* (Vat. OS 180, 50) or *Ιεφθαε* (*ibid.* 183, 20). Coisl. 169, 75 has *Ιεφθαε Iαω διάνοξις*.

C20 *Ιαβη[]*. Not found elsewhere. Josephus has *Ιαβηρος* for *Ιαβεις*, but it is difficult to assume that the compiler of the Onomastica inserted such a graecized form, especially since he had already included the Septuagint form *Ιαβεις*.

C21 *Ιεβαα[λ]*. The restoration may also be *Ιεβαα[ρ]*. They transcribe different Hebrew proper nouns: **בְּעֵלָה** = name of a place, **אֲשָׁכַז** and **יִבְחָר** = personal names. The former is more likely as it appears in Josh. 15: 9 (B), and the following name in the list, *Ιανω*, is also found in Josh. 16: 6.

C22 *Ιανω[]*: Hebrew **יָנוֹחַ**. This place name is transcribed *Ιανω* (A), *Ιανωκα* (B), Luc. *Ιανωχα*, in Josh. 16: 6, and *Ιανωχ* in 2 Kgs. 15: 29 (A). Eusebius has *Ιανω* in his Onomasticon, and Hieron. CC 95, 11 has *Ianua* requies.

C23 *Ιελιφ[]*. This form is not found elsewhere, but it is probably equivalent to *Ελιφαζ*, *Ελιφαλετ*, and similar words. As in the case of *Ελιεζερ*—*Ιελιεζερ* (cf. A20 above), it seems to have been contaminated by the addition of an *I*. The fact that *Iω* and *Ελ* have the same meaning (cf. A21) probably facilitated this process.

II. NEW CLASSICAL TEXT

2746. TRAGEDY

15.5 × 28.5 cm.

Late first or early second century

One column, preserved for its full height but damaged on the right edge and much effaced in the lower part, from a non-extant tragic drama. 35 lines (including the *παρεπιγραφαί*) across the fibres in a rounded semi-documentary hand, on the verso of a series of memoranda in various cursive hands which I would assign on palaeographical grounds to the first century A.D. There are no accents or marks of elision or punctuation, but there are some paragraphi. Identification of the speakers is an integral and apparently regular feature of the lay-out.

The fragment preserves exchanges between at any rate Priam, Cassandra, Deiphobus, and a Chorus, in iambic trimeters (despite irregularities of lay-out which have obscured the metre). The subject seems fairly clearly to be the single combat between Hector and Achilles described in book xxii of the *Iliad*. It is less clear, however, whether the passage contains a prophecy by Cassandra of the fight and Hector's death, or an eye-witness account, or whether Cassandra may be seeing the events clairvoyantly.

The identification of the play is uncertain. In *BICS* 15 (1968)¹ I have discussed the arguments for and against 2746 being part of the *Hector* of Astydamas (D. L. Page, *Greek Literary Papyri* i 29 a and b, P. Hib. 174), and have discussed the interpretation line by line.

¹ pp. 110–118 and plate XII.

	]αμ'ο'	θ. . . σηνωνπαιμηκαμησστησνονποδα[
	]	καικαιιβ[.]υλαιοσπροσδεχοντακρεις[
	]	ωδη	[
	]'. '	βεβληκεδεινονκαμακα	[
5	]α'μ'	<u>τιστεκνονφρασον</u> χ'ο' οπηλιωτης[
	] . . . αν'δ'	αλληστοχησε χ'ο' ειπασωσχει[
	]'. 'ς'	εκτωρδεδεμλει χ'ο' δυστυχησαγω[
	]'. '	<u>ισωσεδυστυχησεν</u>	[
	]	ωδη	[
10	]	<u>κοιναμεχρινυγεικωμεν</u>	. [
	]φ'ο'β'	τισηχ[.]σημασεγδομωνανεκλαγε	[
	]	ωδη	[
	]	. . . εατιλευσω	. [
	]φ'ο'	<u>αινιγ[. . . .]</u> μοιμει . ον . . . θενξωλογ[
15	]	ωδη	[
	]	. . . . προπυργων ον . [.]ξε . [
	]ο'	[. . . .] . α[.] καιπαρεπλανχθησφρενα[
	]	ωδη	[
	]	ουπαρ . . ε[.]ευες	. [
20	]	π ^a [δ] τ ατο[] . [
	]	οσν . [.] . ε ρο . ιος[] . [
	]	ωδη	[
	] .	. . [.] . ερονμοιτ[
	]	ακου[.] . [.] . [.] . ανγηρυν[
25	]ακου[.]	ρεξολωλ[.] . [
	]	ωδη	[
	]	[ ] . [.] α . . υσπο . ενμε[
	]ολωλ[.]	κ . ιφαιο . τειτα[
	] . . . [.] . [.] .	δ . . . ντοκλειν[
30	]τηςση . . ρ	χειροσελλη[
	]αλ'λ'ει	προςουδας	[
	]υν . [.] . [.] .	χησεγω	[
	]λλ . [.] . . α . . ρ[.] .	ηπ . ρ[
]	[]
35	]	. . . . [	] . υ[

- [Πρί]αμο(ς) θάρσενον, ὦ παῖ· μὴ κάμῃς· στῆσον πόδα,
καὶ καίτοι β[ο]υλαῖς προσδέχου τὰ κρείς[ονα.]
ὥδῃ
- [Κακ]ς(άνδρα) βέβληκε δεινὸν κάμακα.
5 [Πρί]αμ(ος) τίς, τέκνον; φράσον. Χο(ρός) ὁ Πηλιώτης [
[Κα]ς(άνδρα) ἀλλ' ἡστόχησε<ν>. Χο(ρός) εἶπας ὡς ἔχει[
[Κα]ς(άνδρα) Ἔκτωρ †δεδεμλει†. Χο(ρός) δυστυχῆς ἀγῶ[ν
[Κακ]ς(άνδρα) ἵως ἐδυστύχησεν. [
- ὥδῃ
- 10 [Κακς(άνδρα)?] κοινὰ μέχρι νῦν νικῶμεν. .[
[Δηί]φοβ(ος) τίς ἤχ[ο]ς ἡμᾶς ἐκ δόμων ἀνέκλαγε<ν>;
ὥδῃ
- [Κακς(άνδρα)?] ἔα ἔα· τί λεύς<ς>ω; .[
[Δηί]φο(βος) αἰνίγ[ματό]ς μοι μεῖζον' ἐφθέγξω λόγῳ[ν.]
β
- 15 ὥδῃ
- [Κακς(άνδρα)?] πρὸ πύργων οὐ[.]ςε.[
[Δηί]φο(βος) .[...].α[.]αὐτῇ καὶ παρεπλάγχθης φρένα.
ὥδῃ
- [Κακς(άνδρα)?] οὐ παρεκέ[λ]ευες; .[
20 [name] πατ...τ...ατο[] .[
] ὅς ν[.].ε...ρο.ιος[] .[
ὥδῃ
- [name]. ..[.]τερὸν μοι τ[
[name] ακου[.].[.].[.], αν γῆρυν [
25 [name?] ακου[.].[.].[.]ρ ἐξολωλ[.].[
ὥδῃ
- [name] [].[.]α...υςπο.ενμε[
[name] ὀλωλ[.].[.].[.]αικαιφαιο.τειτα[
] ...[.].[.].[.]δ...ντο κλειν[.
30] τῆς σῆς ἐρ... χειρὸς Ἑλλη[ν-?
] βάλλει πρὸς οὐδας. [
[name?] [.]υν[.].[.].[.]χης ἐγώ. [
[name?] [.]λλ[.].[.].[.]α...ρ[.].[.]ηπ.ρ[
ὥδῃ]
- 35 [name] [] .υ[

2 Faint traces (below]αμ'ο' in l. 1) χουτα has been re-inked by another hand in a lighter ink
 7 After initial *nota personae*, high traces 10 At end of line, α, δ, or χ 13 End, traces which resemble π more than anything else 14 After αινιγ, slight traces of ink in what is shown as a lacuna Before μοι, the end of a high horizontal: perhaps c? ον: the papyrus on the right of the vertical crack has warped upwards. The reading is not doubtful Below beginning of line, paragraphus and β by different hand 16 After ον, κ or β? 17 Remains of ink in the first indicated lacuna 19 The surface before it is much abraded, but the ο (with the υ) is written larger as if an initial form The trace at the end seems most like an ε or c 20 It seems that the writer originally began the line with δ, then inserted π before the beginning of the line and changed the δ into an α On the trace at the end of the line, see the commentary 21 Before ρ, ρ or ω? If ρ, is the preceding letter δ? Letter after ρο apparently corrected 23 Of initial *nota personae*, only a tiny spot of ink remains Before ερον, a high horizontal: τ? but χ also possible 27 The initial trace is uncertain α is written rather large, perhaps as initial letter Possibly three letters between α and υ 30 The first traces of this line are directly under those of the lines preceding: the papyrus is fractured and the upper part has sprung out to the left 31 Paragraphus appears to be by the same hand as the text. (So also, probably, those below 5 and 8 and above 11) 32 Before χης, τν possible 33 Before α, are the traces perhaps to be combined as μ? Between α and ρ, space for one average letter, but the traces most resemble ιχ Before η, end of a diagonal rising to the right 35 At the left edge of the papyrus, at a level above and below the traces of this line, cursive marks in a different hand in a lighter ink, apparently irrelevant to the literary text Before υ, traces most resemble τ

(Lines 1–19.) (Priam) 'Take courage, child! Do not exhaust yourself! Stay your foot, and adopt the better course in your designs.' (Cassandra) 'He has thrown the terrible shaft!' (Priam) 'Who, my child? Tell me.' (Chorus) 'The Pelian . . .' (Cassandra) 'But he missed!' (Chorus) 'Have you said (?) how it is . . .?' (Cassandra) 'Hector is throwing (?)'. (Chorus) 'This is an unlucky contest(?)'. (Cassandra) 'Equally he was unlucky . . . so far we have a common share in victory . . .' (Deiphobus) 'What sound called us out of the house?' (Cassandra?) 'Ah! What do I see?' [. . .] (Deiphobus) 'The words you uttered are for me greater than a riddle.' (Cassandra?) '[Were you not?] in front of the city walls? . . .' (Deiphobus) ' . . . and you were out of your mind.' (Cassandra?) 'Were you not exhorting (him)?' [. . .]

1 θάρσενον, ὦ παῖ: Snell compares Ezekiel, *Exagoge* 100.

3 ὦδῃ (and 9, 12, 15, 18, 22, 26, and perhaps 34): the closest parallel is ὦδῃ ἐνδοθεν in Eur. *Cyclops* 487: but the occurrence of the word seven, and probably eight, times in the short space of 2746 is a novelty. It can hardly bear relation to the interlinear phrase χοροῦ μέλος (on which cf. P. Hib. 174, 10 note; and see Pickard-Cambridge, *The Theatre of Dionysus in Athens*, pp. 160 seqq.; also *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*, p. 240; Sifakis, *Studies*,¹ pp. 113 seqq.). Its repetition is against this; also it occurs at points where an interval of any length would be incompatible with the development of the drama. Possibly it means that there was musical accompaniment. However, ὦδῃ appears to be used rather of singing, or vocal noise at least, than instrumental noise. To its being used here to show the manner of Cassandra's utterances, it may be objected (1) that 6 seqq. have not been so classified, and (2) that parallels such as ὦδῃ ἐνδοθεν in the *Cyclops* and ροῖβδος in the *Ichneutae* (79 Page) imply something *extra* and not anything as to the manner of what follows. The possibility remains that the ὦδαί are improvisations by Cassandra.

4 κάμακα: cf. Aesch. *Nereids* (fr. 152 Nauck², Lloyd-Jones fr. 75 Loeb).

4 seqq. Prima facie the arrangement of the text has a neat and balanced appearance (whatever the reason may be for the *eisthesis* of lines 4, 10, et al.), but something has gone seriously wrong if the text is to be reconstituted into iambic trimeters.

5 Πηλιώτης is a new form. It would be incorrectly formed as a patronymic from Πηλεύς, and must derive from Πήλιον.

6 [Κα]ρσάνδ(ρα): on the spelling of the name, see Fraenkel's commentary on Aesch. *Ag.* ii 467.

ἡστόχησεν: ἀστοχέω occurs several times in late prose, but is rare in poetry: perhaps cf. Page, *GLP* 75, 13.

¹ *Studies in the History of Hellenistic Drama*, London 1967.

7 †δεδεμλει†: the reading is clear, so that there must be some corruption here. I take it that the sense should be that Hector in turn is casting or has cast his spear.

10 κοινὰ μέχρι νῦν νικῶμεν: a strange and poetically unsatisfying expression. Presumably this is the beginning of an iambic trimeter.

11 ἦχος: the first appearance of this word in tragedy.

ἀνέκλαγεν: this verb occurs in Eur. *IA* 1062, but not in the transitive use which is surprising here. The lengthening of the second syllable is to be noted. Cf. Page, *A New Chapter in the History of Greek Tragedy*, pp. 22 seqq., with notes, esp. p. 24 with n. 25. Note also παρεπλάγχθη in 17.

14 Perhaps cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 1112–13.

On β below the beginning of the line, cf. Turner's introduction to 2458.

17 At end, φρένα[ς] would be equally possible.

19 παρεκεί[λ]ευσς: the papyrus is warped and broken after ρ, but this reading of the traces seems secure enough, except that the last two letters are rather ambiguously formed. For the form of κ, cf., e.g., the first κ of κάμακα (l. 4). The verb occurs in Theodectes (fr. 9, 2, Nauck², p. 804); also Ar. *Vesp.* 530; the *active* in the pseudo-Hippocratic *περὶ εὐχρημοσύνης*, 16, and in Polybius. The attribution of this utterance to Cassandra is of course conjectural.

20 The papyrus is comparatively intact for some distance before the single trace indicated at the end of the line. Either the surface has been abraded (although there is no clear change in this respect between this area and the blank section at the end of l. 19) or the line contained *antilabe* (or a blank space) as above in the inset lines 10, 13 etc.

21 It does not seem that Ἐκτωρ (or an oblique case thereof) is to be read here. This suggestion might be made in 25: the traces are much vaguer, but ἀκού[ς]ατ' Ἐκτωρ may be a possible reading.

24 An imperative form of ἀκούω, followed by an adjective qualifying γῆρυν?

25 See the note on 21 above. Above the τ of the putative ἀκού[ς]ατ', another letter (τ?) added in a different hand (cf. the ink of β below 14 init.)?

III. EXTANT CLASSICAL AUTHORS

2747. HOMER, *Iliad* II. 1-78

28.5 × 19 cm.

Fifth/sixth century

Part of a codex which, when it was complete, contained the second book of Homer's *Iliad*. The papyrus is thick and coarse. The first 38 lines are written on the face along the fibres and the following 40 lines on the back across the fibres. Those on the back are very faint, as if washed out. The handwriting, written in brown ink, is a regular sloping uncial of the oval type and may belong to the fifth century or the beginning of the sixth. Parallels are Schubart, *Paläogr.* no. 99 (= PSI 126) and *Pap. Graec. Berol.* 43b, assigned to A.D. v; M. Norsa, *La Scritt. Letter.* 16 = P. Cair. 43227, assigned to A.D. v-vi; 1373-4.

The text shows some variants from the text of Allen (Oxford, 1931) with which it has been collated.

Recto →

[*Ιλιαδος*] β

- [*Ἄλλοι μὲν ῥα θεοὶ*] *τε* *καὶ ἀνέρες ἵπποκορυσταὶ*
 [*εὐδὸν παῖνυχοι Δία*] *δ* *οὐκ ἔχε νηδυμὸς ὑπνός*
 [*ἀλλ' ὁ γὰρ μερμηρίζει*] *κατὰ φρένα ὡς Ἀχιλλῆα*
 [*τιμῆσιν ὀλέσῃ δὲ π*] *όλεας ἐπὶ νηυσὶν Ἀχαιῶν*
 5 [*ἦδ' ἐπεὶ οἱ κατὰ θυμόν*] *ἄριστ' ἔφαινετο βούλη*
 [*πέμψαι ἐπ' Ἀτρεΐδην*] *Ἀγαμέμνων οὐλὸν ὄνειρον*
 [*καὶ μὲν φωνήσας ἐπ*] *ἔα πτεροέντα προσκυδα*
 [*βασκίῃ οὐλὲ ὄνειρε*] *θῶας ἐπὶ νηῆς Ἀχαιῶν*
 [*ἐλθῶν*] [*εἰς κλισίην Ἀγ*] *αἰετὸν Ἀτρεΐδαν*
 10 [*π*] *ἄντα μάλα ἀτρεκέως ἀγορεύεμεν ὡς ἐπιτέλλω*
 [*θωρήξαι*] [*ἐκέλευε καρ*] *ῆ κομοωντὰς Ἀχαιοὺς*
 [*πασσὺδι*] [*νὺν γὰρ κέ*] *ν ἐλοὶ πόλιν εὐρυάγυιαν*
 [*Τρωῶν*] [*ὅν γὰρ ἐτ' ἀμφὶς*] *Ὀλυμπία δ' ὀφείλει εἶχοντε* [*ς*]
 [*ἀθανάτ' οἱ φράζονται*] *ἐπεγναμψεν γὰρ ἅπαντα* [*ς*]
 15 [*Ἥρην*] [*λίσσομαι*] [*ἐν Τρῷ*] *ἔσσι δὲ κῆδε ἐφήπται*
 [*ὡς φάτο βῆ*] [*δ' ἄρ' οἱ*] *νείρος ἐπεὶ τὸν μῦθον ἀκούσας*
 [*καρπαλίμως*] *δ' ἵκανε θῶας ἐπὶ νηῆς Ἀχαιῶν*
 [*βῆ*] [*δ' ἄρ' ἐπ' Ἀτρεΐδην*] *Ἀγαμέμνονα τὸν δὲ κίχανεν*

- 20 ευδοντ' α' εν κλισιη περι δ αμβροσιος κεχυ[θ υ]προς
 στη δ αρ υπερ κεφαλης Νηληϊω υι ερι[κως]
 Νεστορι τον ρα μαλιστα γεροντω[ν τι Αγαμεμνων]
 τωι μιν εισαμενος προσεφωνε[ε θειος ονειρος]
 ευ[δε]ις Ατρεος υιε δαιφρονος ιππ[οδαμοιο]
 ου χρη παννυχιον ε[ν]δειν βουληφ[ορον ανδρα]
 25 [ω λαοι τ ε]πιτετρα[φ]αται και το[σσα μεμηλε]
 [νυν δ εμ]εθεν ξυν[εσ] ωκα δε τοι [αγγελος ειμι]
 [ος σευ αν]ευθεν εων μεγα κηδε[ται ηδε ελεαιρει]
 [θωρηξαι σ]ε κελευε καρη κομοωντας Αχ[αιους]
 [πανσυδιη νυν] γαρ κεν ελοις πολιν ευρυαγυ[α]ν
 30 [Τρωων ου γα]ρ ετ αμφις Ολυμπια δωματ εχοντες
 [αθανατοι φ]ραζονται επεγναμψεν γαρ απαντας
 [Ηρη λισσο]μενη Τρωεσσι δε κηδε εφηπται
 [εκ Διος αλ]λα συ σηνειν εχε φρεσι μηδε σε ληθη
 [αιρειτ]ω ευτ αν σε μελιφρων υπνος ανηη
 35 ως αρ[α] φωνησας απεβησετο τον δ ελιπ αυτου
 [τα] φρ[ο]νεωντ ανα θυμον α ρ ου τελεεσθαι εμελλεν
 φη γαρ ο γ αιρησειν Πριαμου πολιν ηματι κεινω
 ηηπιος ουδε τα ηδη α ρα Ζευς μηδετο εργα

Verso ,

- 40 θησειν γαρ ετ εμελλεν επ [αλγεα τε στοναχας τε
 Τρωσι τε και Δαναοισι δια [κρατερας υσμινα]ς
 εγρετο δ εξ υπνου θειη δε μ[ιν αμφεχυτ ομφη]
 εξετο δ ορθωθεις μαλακο[ν δ ενδυne χιτωνα]
 καλον ηηγατεον περι δε μ[εγα βαλλετο φαρος]
 προςσι δ υπο λιπαροισιν εδ[ησατο καλα πεδιλα]
 45 αμφι δ αρ ωμοισιν βαλετο [ξιφος αργυροηλον]
 ειλετο δε σκηπτρον πατρ[ωιον αφθιτον αιει]
 συν τω εβη κατα νηας Α[χαιων χαλκοχιτωνων]
 Ηως μεν ρα θεα προσεβησ[ετο μακρον Ολυμπ]ον
 [Ζ]ηνι φρωσ ερεουσα και α[λλοις αθανατοις]ιν
 50 [α]νταρ ο κηρυκεσσι λιγυφ[θογγοισι κελευσε]
 κηρυσσειν αγορηνδε καρ[η κομοωντας] Αχαιους
 οι μεν εκηρυσσον τοι δ ηγ[ειροντο μαλ ω]κα

- [B]ουλη δε πρωτον μεγαθυμ[ων ιζε γεροντ]ων
 [N]εστορεηι παρα νῆϊ Πυλοι[γενεος βασιληο]ς
 55 [τ]ους ο γε συνκαλεσας πυκινην η[ρτυνετ]ο βουλην
 κλυτε φιλοι θειος μοι ενυπνιον ηλθεν ονειρος
 αμβρο[ς]ιην δια νυκτα μαλιστα δε Νε[στορι διω]
 [ειδος τε μ]εγεθος τε φυην τ αγχιστα εωκει
 [ςτη δ αρ υπ]ερ κεφαλης και μιν προς μυθον [εε]ιπεν
 60 [ευδεις Ατρεος υ]ιε δαιφρον[ο]ς ιπποδαμοιο
 [ου χρη παννυχ]ιον ευδειν [β]ουληφορον ανδρα
 [ω λαοι τ επιτετ]ραφεται και τοσσα μεμηλε
 [νυν δ εμεθεν] ξυνες ωκα Διος δε τοι [αγγελος ειμι]
 [ος σευ ανευθεν εω]ν μεγα κηδ[ετ]αι ηδ ελεα[ιρει]
 65 [θωρηξαι σε κελ]ευσε καρη κομοωντας Αχα[ιους]
 [πανκυδιη νυν γ]αρ κεν ελοις πολιν ευρυαγυ[ιαν]
 [Τρωων ου γαρ] ετ αμφις Ολυμπια δωματ[εχοντες]
 αθ[α]ν[α]τ[ο]ι φραζονται επεγγαμψεν γαρ α[παντας]
 Ηρη λισσομενη Τρωεσσι δε κηδε ε[φηπται]
 70 εκ Διος αλλα συ ζησιw εχε φρεσιν ως [ο μεν ειπων]
 ωχετ αποπταμενος εμε δε γλυκυς υπν[ος ανηκεν]
 αλλ αγετ αι κεμ πως θωρηξομεν υιας Αχα[ιων]
 πρωτα δ εγων επεσιν πειρησομαι η θεμι[ς εστι]
 και φευγειν εν νηυσι πολυκλησι κελευσω
 75 υμεις δ αλλοθεν αλλος ερητυειν επεεσσιν
 Ητοι ο γ ως ειπων κατ αρ εξετο τοις δ ανεστη
 Νεστωρ ος ρα Πυλοιο αναξ ην ημαθοεντος
 ο ςφιν εν φρονεων αγορησατο και μετεειπεν

6 *Αγαμεμνα* for *Αγαμεμνονα* by haplography. *Ατρεΐδην Αγαμέμνονι* adopted by Allen. *Ατρεΐδην Αγαμέμνονα* in L⁸ L¹⁰ L¹⁸ M¹⁴ Mc V¹.

16 The scribe left a space at the beginning of the line, perhaps for a paragraphus.

19 *ευδοντ' α'*: the alpha is added by the same hand.

20 *υι*: Allen *υι*.

26 *δε τοι*, instead of *Διος δε τοι*, is an unnoticed error of the scribe, cf. 63.

28 *κελευε*: *κέλευσε* Allen, *ς' ἐκέλευε* vulg. *σε κέλευε* vel *ς' ἐκέλευε* codd. plurimi.

36 *φρ[ο]νέωντ'*: the correction from *ω* to *ο* was done by the same hand.

53 *βουλή*: Aristoph., Ar. Bm⁴, U⁵ corr. γρ., P³; *βουλήν*: Zenod., Allen.

55 *ῆρτύνετο* Pap., vulg.; *ἄρτύνετο* Allen.

59 *μιν*: must be a slip of the pen.

74 *έν* is only in 2747. *σύν* Allen, codd. For the usage of *έν* instead of *σύν* see Blass, *Gramm. N.T. Gr.*, p. 131; Robertson, *Gramm. N.T. Gr.*, p. 588.

2748. HOMER, *Iliad* XVI. 129-60

19.5 × 10 cm.

Second century

A small strip of papyrus from a roll, containing the upper and lower margins and the beginning of the lines of a complete column. The handwriting is of middle-sized upright uncials of the second century. So far as it extends there are no variants from the text of Allen (Oxford, 1931), with which it has been collated, except in l. 150 where movable *ν* is added to *ἔτεκεν*. Across the fibres, presumably on the back. On the other side part of a writing exercise (?).

- 130 δυσεοτευχεαθ[
 ωσφ[.]τοπατρο[
 κνημ[.]δαςμεν[
 καλασαργυρεοις[
 δευτεροναυθω[
 ποι[.]λοναστεροε[
 135 αμ[.]αρωμοισινβ[
 χαλ[.]οναυτααρεπε[
 κρατ[.]επιφθιμω[
 ιππ[.]ρινδεινονδ[
 ειλ[.]αλκιμαδου[
 140 εγχοσδουχελετοιο[
 βριθυμεγαστιβαρο[
 παλλε[.]γαλλαμινο[
 πηλιαδαμελινητ[
 πηλιο[.]εκκορυφη[
 145 ιππουσδαντομεδ[
 τονμεταχιλληαρ[
 πιστοτατοςδεοιες[
 τωδεκαιαντομε[
 ξανθονκαιβαλιον[
 150 τουςετεκενζεφυρω[
 βοσκομενηλειμ[
 ενδεπαρηοριγισιν[
 τονραποτηετιων[.]...νπο[
 οσκαιθνητοςεωνεπεθ.ππο[
 155 μυρμιδοναςδαρετοιχομενο[
 παντασανακλiscιαςυντευχεςιν[
 ωμοφαγοιτοιςιντεπερ[.]φρεσι[
 .ιτ[.]λαφογκεραονμεγ[.]γουρε[
 ].c[.]νδ[.....].[.....]..[
 160 ]ιαc[

2749. THUCYDIDES II. 90-92

Height 19.6 cm.

Second/third century

Three fragments preserve parts of five columns, reconstructed on the assumption of 30 or 31 lines per column. The appearance of the handwriting and the height (3.5 cm.) of the upper margin of col. ii suggest that the fragments are from a stately roll. The scribe wrote in a stylized upright book hand with contrasted broad and narrow letters. Individual letters vary considerably in breadth, the average κ being about four times and the average μ about five times as broad as the average ϵ . There are small flat tips at the feet of λ and at the feet and often at the tops of letters with vertical strokes. Letters worth particular mention are ξ , which consists of a curl between two horizontal, inwardly curved, strokes; τ , the horizontal stroke of which has a downward curl at the left end; and ν , the top of which is a wide shallow cup formed with one stroke.

No exactly parallel hand¹ can be quoted, but others of this type are those of P. Bodmer 14 (in which, however, ξ has the modern lower-case formation), 2454 (which is more angular and upright), and a Hesiod fragment on parchment (Bartoletti, *Aegyptus* xxxi (1951), pp. 263-8, which has a slight slope to the right and is more angular). These three hands differ from the present one by having letters of a more nearly uniform breadth.

The scribe uses the paragraphus (a single displaced rough breathing just left of the paragraphus at l. 37), the middle and the high dot, and the diaeresis; he fills out lines 23 and 58 with little wedges. At one point he corrects himself or is corrected by another: an ι is inserted after the article in line 47. An insertion in a second hand is made above line 56.

A table giving instances of agreements of the papyrus readings with those of the seven principal manuscripts, as collated by Hude in his *editio maxima* of 1898, follows:

With C	Against ABEFGM	line 50 (doubtful)
		„ 58 (wrong)
„ C	„ ABEF[G]M	„ 27 (doubtful)
„ CG	„ ABEFM	„ 35 (doubtful)
„ CEFGM	„ AB	„ 46 (right)
„ ABCM	„ EFG	„ 37 (right)
„ ABCEFG	„ M	„ 47 (doubtful)
„ ABCEGM	„ F	„ 40 (right)
„ ABCFGM	„ E	„ 6 (doubtful)
„ ABEFGM	„ C	lines 19, 29, 49, 60 (right)
„ ABEFM	„ CG	line 28 (right)
„ ACEFGM	„ B	„ 48 (right)

¹ It seems likely that an unedited fragment of Plato, *Gorgias* was by the same scribe. E. G. T.

225 contains Thuc. ii. 90, 5-6. The lacunae are such that the two papyri have only eight letters in common, none of them representing a variant, and no information can be obtained as to the relationship between the two.

The verso presents writing in two hands, one fragment badly damaged and mostly illegible, and the second fragment containing repetitions of the phrase *πιττάκιν* (for *πιττάκιον*) ἔχων Βερνικησίας.

All of col. i is lost except part of a *ν* at the end of the first line. The top and the bottom of col. ii and the bottom of col. v are preserved.

Col. ii

90, 2-3

νηξ *περ*[ικλησειαν
ο *δε* *δπερ* *εκ*[εινοι *προς*
εδεχοντο [*φοβηθεις* *πε*
ρι *τωι* *χωρ*[ιωι *ερημωι*
5 *οντι* *ως* *ε*[ωρα *αναγο*
μ[ενους *αυτους* *ακων*
κ[αι *κατα* *σπουδην* *εμ*
βι[βασας *επλει* *παρα*
τη[ν *γην* *και* *ο* *πεζος* *α*

5 lines lost (traces of final letters of ll. 11-14)

15 *ον*] *τας* *εντρος* *του* [*κολ*
που] *τε* *και* *πρ*[ο[*ς*] *τη*[ι] *γηι*
οπε] *ρ* *εβουλοντο* *μα*
λιστ] *απο* *σημειου* *ενος*
αφνω *επιστρεψαν*
20 *τες*] *τας* *ναυς* *μετω*
πη] *δον* *επλεον* *ως* *ει*
χε *ταχ*] *ους* *εκαστος* *επι*
τους *αθ*] *ηγαιους* *και* »
ηλπιζο] *ν* *πασας* *τας*
25 *ναυς* *απολ*] *ημψεσθαι*
των *δε* *ενδεκα* *μ*] *ειν*
τινες] *αιπερ* *ηγουν*
το *υπεκφε*] *ν* *γουνσι* *το*
κερας *τω*] *ν* *πελοπον*
30 *νησιων*] *και* *την* *ε*
πιστροφ] *ην* *ες* *την*

90, 4-5

Col. iii

90, 6

και τ[ων] ρε[ων] τινὰς
 αναδ[ου]μεν[οι] ειλ
 κον κενας. μ[ιαν] δε
 35 αυτοις ανδρα[ειν] ει
 χον ηδη. τας δε τινας
 ιοι μεεε[η]ν[ιοι] παραβο
 ηθησα[ντες] και επεε
 βαινο[ντες] ξυν τοις
 40 οπ[λ]οι[ς] ες την θαλας
 σα[ν] και επιβαντες α
 πο [των] καταστρωμα

Col. iv

91, 3

.
 ετυχε δε ολκας ορμ]ου
 σα μετεωρος πε]ρι ην
 45 η] αττικη ναυς φθα
 ραα και περιπλευσα
 ς]α τη'ι' λευκαδια δ[ιω

Col. v

92, 1-2

.
 ιδοντας ταυτ]α γιγν[ο
 μενα θαρ]cos τε ελαβε[
 50 κ[αι] απο] ενος κελευ[
 μα[τος] ε]νβοησαντε[ς
 επ α[υτο]υς ωρμησαν
 οι δε [δια] τα υπαρχοντα
 αμαρτηματα και την
 55 παρουναν αταξίαν
 ολιγον μεν 'τινα' χρονον
 υπεμ[ει]ναν επειτα
 δε ετραπ]οντο ες το >
 πανορμο]ν οθενπερ
 60 ανηγαγο]ντο· επιδι

6 αὐτοὺς om. E
 28 ὑπεκφεύγουσιν CG

19 ἐπιτρέψαντες C
 29 Πελοποννησίων C

25 ἀπολήψεσθαι MSS.
 35 εἶλον AB EFM

27 τινες om. AB EFGM
 37 Μεσήμεροι EFG

40 θάλατταν F 46 καὶ περιπλεύσας om. AB 47 τῇ διωκούσῃ Λευκαδίᾳ M 48 γινόμενα B
 49 ἔλαβεν C 50 κελεύματος C κελεύματος ABEFGM 51 ἐμβοήσαντες MSS. 56 τινα
 om. MSS. The erudition if not the correctness of the insertion, made in a second hand, is attested
 by iv 54, 30 and viii 95, 14, both of which have ὀλίγον μὲν τινα χρόνον. Cf., however, i 18, 18 καὶ ὀλίγον
 μὲν χρόνον ξυνέμεινεν ἡ ὁμαιχμία 58 τὸν ABEFGM and the scholia 60 ἀνήγοντο C

[*Addendum*: During final cleaning by W. E. H. Cockle before photography some additional traces of ink have been brought out. When indeterminate they have not been noted. In col. ii, l. 12 clearly ends in]α; the traces at the ends of 10, 11, 13 may be]ω,]ξ,] respectively. In col. iii traces of α in the line below 47 might justify [κουσῇ εμβ]α[λλει με].]

2750. XENOPHON, *Cyropaedia* I, 1

8.0 × 14.2 cm.

Later second century

The upper part of one column from a papyrus roll. Opposite the last lines are the fragmentary first letters of 5 lines of the next column. The text is written on the recto, and the hand is another example of the early Biblical uncial style¹ similar to, e.g., **661** (Callimachus, *Iambi*), and may similarly be dated around the latter part of the second century A.D. It is very similar to **2101**, and Professor E. G. Turner in fact suggests that this papyrus may well belong to the same roll, the slightly larger size of the handwriting being accounted for by this column's being the first in the roll. Occasional accents, breathings, stops, a mark of elision, and two interlinear readings have been added, at least partly by a different hand.

¹ This was written before the appearance of G. Cavallo, *Ricerche sulla maiuscola biblica*, who dates 2101 (p. 65) to the late fourth century. The dating cannot be argued here. [The assignment to the late fourth century credited to me in the publication of this text by Dr. Paap in *The Xenophon Papyri* no. 5, p. 13, rests on a misunderstanding. E. G. T.]

19 The division of the diphthong $\kappa\alpha/[\iota]$ is so odd that the possibility of 2750's having had $\kappa\alpha/[\nu]$ must be considered.

23 $\pi\epsilon\iota\theta\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\iota\varsigma$ F G, om. cett., wrongly, as it contains the point of the whole clause. It is possible that pap. omitted it, in which case the line would read $[\tau\omicron\nu\varsigma \delta\epsilon\sigma\tau\omicron\tau\alpha\varsigma \epsilon\tau\iota] \delta\epsilon$. It seems in any case certain that pap. does not support Hartman's deletion of $\tau\omicron\nu\varsigma \delta\epsilon\sigma\tau\omicron\tau\alpha\varsigma$ (Gemoll attributes the deletion to Hirschig). True, they constitute an anacolouthon after the opening $\pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$, but are understandable on account of the intervening $\kappa\alpha\iota$ ($\delta\mu\omega\varsigma$) and, in fact, pointedly stress the contrast between official authority and actual inefficiency.

As regards the word-division at the end of the line as printed above, cf., e.g., Pack² 1551, ll. 172–3 (= P. Rainer VI pp. 81 seqq.).

2751. PLATO, *Republic* III

Fr. D 15.0 × 15.5 cm. Late second or early third century

Five fragments of a fine copy of the *Republic* of Plato. The complete lines in fr. D col. ii contain 18, 19, or 20 letters, sometimes only 16, i.e. 18 on average. According to standard texts, the gap between col. i and col. ii needs 145 letters, which make 8 lines of 18 letters. In fact 5 of these 8 lines are found in Frag. E, and come at the head of the column of which the lower part is in D col. ii, giving 27 lines per column. On the verso a magical amulet (2753) was written afterwards.

In 2751 the small \omicron , the ω with characteristically flat base, ξ with two somewhat curved strokes and the middle connection like the sign of aspiration closed only to the lower stroke, may indicate early third century, but late second century is probable (cf. 1016, 223, Roberts, *Gr. Literary Hands*, p. 20).

The scribe of this papyrus is skilful. His script is of the oval type, regular and graceful, upright, and rather above medium size. The broad μ with curved middle, broad and shallow in upper part, broad π without emerging strokes, the curved ν with three equal strokes, and the regular space between the letters are characteristics common between our papyrus and 1017 (Plato, *Phaedrus*). But the case for identity between the two scribes is not strong.

Punctuation is as in 1016, 1017. Alternations of the dialogue are, as usual, marked by double dots (A 4, B 3, D ii 15; wrongly omitted at D ii 14),¹ accompanied sometimes by paragraphi (D ii 5, 6, 14, 15, 18, 19) under the line. A high stop is used (D ii 7, 19). The ν at the end of the line may be written as a stroke over the preceding vowel (B 2, D 2). There is no evidence of a second hand. The correction of reading (B 4) is by the original hand. The text is interesting mainly for sharing the reading of F $\delta\acute{o}\xi\omega \gamma\acute{\epsilon} \kappa\omicron\iota$ at 414 c 9 against the other manuscripts. The scribe writes $\xi\upsilon\mu\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\iota\upsilon$ A 6, and $\xi\upsilon\mu\beta\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\iota\upsilon$, not $\kappa\upsilon\mu\beta\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\iota\upsilon$ A 10. The collation is with Burnet's Oxford text, but the apparatus has been corrected from that of E. Chambry, Paris 1943.

¹ The oblique stroke in the left-hand margin may be intended to draw attention to this omission.

Fr. A

412 c 13, d 2

	[..]σπολεως[		[τῇ]ς πόλεως : [ἔστι ταῦτα :]
	[..]δοιτοδεγ[		[κῆ]δοιτο δέ γ' ἄ[ν τις μάλι-
	[..]ατουτουο[		[στ]α τούτου ὃ [τυγχάνοι]
	[..]ιλων : ανα[		[φ]ιλῶν : ἀνά[γκη : καὶ]
5	[..]ῆτουτογανμα[	5	[μ]ῆ γ' τοῦτό γ' ἂν μά[λιστα φι-]
	[... [†]]ιξυμφερειν[		[λοῖ ὦ]ι ξυμφέρειν [ῆγοῖτο,]
	[...].τακαιεαν[		[τὰ α]ὐτὰ καὶ εἰαν[τῷ καὶ .]
	[.....]ισταεκειν[		[.. μάλ]ιστα ἐκεί[ου μὲν]
	[.....]ττοντος[		[εὖ πρᾶ]ττοντος [οἶοιτο]
10	ξυμβαίνεινκα[		κυμβαίνειν κα[ὶ εἰαν-]
	[..]ωεπραττειν μ[		[τ]ῷ εὖ πράττειν μ[ὴ δὲ τοῦνα-]

Fr. A 412 d 2: δ' ἂν Stob. 412 d 4 φ: δ F 412 d 5: ὅταν μάλιστα Bekker, from Parisinus A; ὅτι μάλιστα Stob. The number of letters lost at the beginning of l. 8 is more likely to be 5 than 6, and the restoration [ὅτι] is preferable 412 d 6 οἶοιτο A M Stob., most editors; οἶόν τε ᾧ F; οἶον τὸ D; οἷηται Bekker

Fr. B

413 d 1

]ιδυσεξα	[μὲν μνήμονα κα]ὶ δυσεξα-
]τεον·το	[πάτητον ἐγκρι]τέον· τὸ(ν)
]ονηγαρ :	[δὲ μὴ ἀποκριτέ]ον. ἦ γάρ :
]τΓε[	[ναί : καὶ πόρους] τ' Γ'ε [αὐ καὶ]

Fr. B 413 d 4: the correction 'γ' for τΓε is by the same scribe. τε Stob., γε ceteri

Fr. C

413 e 5

]ιπολειχρησιμ[	[ἐαυτῷ κα]ὶ πόλει χρησιμ[ώ-]
]ηκαιτοναειεν[	[ταπος εἴ]η καὶ τὸν αἰεῖ ἔν [τε]
]αινεανικ[	[παιεὶ κ]αὶ νεανίσκ[οις καὶ]
]ρας[.]βαςα[	[ἐν ἀνδ]ράς[ι] βαςα[νι-]

Fr. C A small fragment which is mutilated on every side

Fr. D, col. i

414 a 3

	]. . . . [	[καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μνη]μείω[ν]	
	]λαγχανῶ	[μέγιστα γέρα] λαγχάνο(ν)-	
	]τονα	[τα· τὸν δὲ μὴ τοιοῦ]τον ἄ-	
	]ητις	[ποκριτέον. τοιαύ]τη τις,	
5	]ιωγλαν	[ἦν δ' ἐγώ, δοκεῖ μοι], ὦ Γλαύ-	
	]ναικαι	[κων ἢ ἐκλογὴ εἰ]ναι καὶ	
	]ναρχ[.]ν	[κατάστασις τῶν ἀρχ[ό]ν-	
	]ακων[	[των τε καὶ φυ]λάκων, [ὥς]	
	]ηδιακρι[	[ἐν τύπῳ, μ]ὴ δι' ἀκρι[βείας]	
10	. . . . .	. . . . .
	
	
	[.]μ. νφυλα	[λεῖν τούτους] μὲν φύλα-	bI
	[.]στωντες	[κας παντελε]ῖς τῶν τε ἔ-	
15	[.]ολεμιωντων	[ξωθεν π]ολεμίων τῶν	
	[. . . .]τοςφιλιωνοπω[.]οι	[τε ἐ]ντὸς φιλίων, ὅπω[ς] οἱ	
	[. . .]μηβουληζονταιοι	[μὲ]ν μὴ βουλήζονται, οἱ	
	[. . . .]δυνησονταικακουρ	[δὲ μὴ] δυνήσονται κακουρ-	
	[.]υεδεξεουσους	[γείν, το]ῦς δὲ νέους οὕς	

Fr. D, 10 seqq. The papyrus where lines 10–12 should be is mutilated 414 a 5 ὦ Γλαύκων, δοκεῖ μοι Stob. 414 b 3 φίλων Stob. βουλήζονται . . . δυνήσονται F, Stobaei A. But, as Chambry notes, 'ω ex o ut videtur fecit F'

Fr. E

414 b 5

	δ[.] . . [	δ[ῆ] νῦ[ν] φύλακας ἑκα-
	λουμε[	λοῦμε[ν] ἐπικούρους τε
	κα[	κα[ὶ] βοηθοὺς τοῖς τῶν ἀρ-
	χ[	χ[όντων] δόγμασιν; ἔμοι-
5	. [	γ[ε] δοκεῖ, ἔφη. τίς ἂν οὖν]

Fr. E. This tiny fragment belongs at the head of column ii of fragment D 414 b 5: νῦν δὲ FD

[.....]γεῖνα[
 ενψ[.....]εῖρους[.]εῖσαι
 μαλι[.....]νκαιαυτοῦς
 του[.....]ντασειδεμη
 5 τηναλ[.]ηνπολιν : ποιον
τιεφ[.]μηδενκαινον
 ηνδ[.]ω·αλλαφ[.]νικι
 κοντιπροτερονμενηδη
 πολλαχουγεγονοςωσφα
 10 εινοιποιηταικαιπ[
κασινεφημω[
[...]ου[...].[
ν[.]ν[...].πεισαιδες[
 / πειθουσωσειοικασεφη
 15 οκνουντιλεγειν : δο
ξωγεσοιηνδεγωκαιμαλ[
[.]ικ·τωσ[...].νει[...].πειδαν
ειπ[.....]φ[...].αιμηφο
βου[...].ωδη·καιτοιουκ

[νῦν ἐλέγομεν,] γεῖνα[ῖόν τι]
 ἐν ψ[ευδομ]εῖρους [π]εῖσαι
 μάλι[στα μέ]ν καὶ αὐτοῦς
 τοῦ[ς ἄρχο]ντας εἰ δὲ μή,
 τὴν ἄλ[λ]ην πόλιν : Ποῖόν
 τι, ἔφ[η :] Μηδὲν καινόν,
 ἦν δ' [ἐγ]ώ· ἀλλὰ Φ[οι]νικι-
 κόν τι, πρότερον μὲν ἦδη
 πολλαχοῦ γεγονός, ὥς φα-
 ριν οἱ ποιηταὶ καὶ π[ε]ρεί-
 κασιν, ἐφ' ἡμῶν δὲ οὐ γεγο-
 [νός] οὐδ' οἱ]δ[α εἰ γενόμε-]
 ν[ο]ν [ἄν,] πεῖσαι δὲ ζ[υχνῆς]
 πειθοῦς <: > Ὡς ἔοικας, ἔφη,
 ὁκνοῦντι λέγειν : Δό-
 ξω γέ σοι, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, καὶ μάλ[α
 [ε]ἰκότως [ὁκ]νεῖ[ν, ἐ]πειδὴν
 εἴπ[ω : Λέγ', ἐ]φ[η, κ]αὶ μὴ φο-
 βού[: Λέγ]ω δὴ· καίτοι οὐκ

c 8

Fr. D, col. ii 414 b 9: νῦν δὲ ἐλέγομεν γεῖναῖόν τι εἶναι ψευδομένους Bekker, ἐνψευδομένους F; E. Chambry (Paris, 1932) reads ἐν ψευδομένους 414 c 8: ὁκνοῦντι A M: ὠκνοῦν τι F D 414 c 9: δόξω δέ σοι all editors, δόξω γέ σοι F only. The particle γε may be defended as giving seriousness to the usual humorous colloquial emphasis καὶ μάλ'. Cf. Campbell, *Plato's Republ. II* (1894), pp. 203 seq., Smyth, *Gr. Gram.* §§ 2769 seqq., Denniston, *The Greek Particles*, pp. 122 seq. For δέ, agreed upon by the standard texts, an inceptive marking a contrast with the preceding speech, cf. Denniston, l.c., p. 172 μάλ[α: the mutilated part allows space for a letter α written in *scriptio plena*

IV. SUBLITERARY TEXTS

2752. SHORTHAND *Commentary*

7.5 × 19 cm.

Second century

A fragment containing the beginnings of lines from the top of a column, with the end of the first line of the preceding column, from a version of the shorthand *Commentary*; written across the fibres in a rounded semi-cursive hand. The text is arranged in tetrads with the signs (without tetradic finals) on the left below the main elements in the usual manner (cf. Milne, *Greek Shorthand Manuals*), but is from a non-extant version of the *Commentary*.

The recto contains parts of twenty-two lines from the top of a column of a document which refers to an uncertain year of Trajan (⁴ -]τω (ἔτει) Τραιανοῦ τοῦ κυρίου]. The lapse of time between use of the recto and verso is uncertain (cf. Turner, *JEA* xl (1954), pp. 102 seqq.), but the hand of the latter is at any rate second-century. If the uncertain fragment P. Harris 51 is set aside, it provides the earliest text yet published of the *Commentary*, and may rank as the oldest evidence of Greek shorthand (cf. Coles, 'Reports of Proceedings in Papyri' (*Papyrologica Bruxellensia* iv (1966)), pp. 14-15).

No attempt has been made to reproduce the signs, for which the reader is referred to the plate at the end of the volume.

Col. i	Verso	Col. ii
		καθονδη[ποτετροπον
		υνις[
		αμη[
		καλ..[
5		Ξοις[
		εεεθα[ι
		σκορ[
		πολ[
		ειεμ[
10		ατμ[
		διηνενκ[
		ι...[
		βαπ[
		νε[
15		πετα[
		]...ντροπον[
		η...[
		ημυχ[
		η...[
20		η.[
		]...εις..[
		[
		[
		[
25		[
		]νχρ.[
		[
		[
		[
	

ii 2 ὡ pap. 9 First ε appears to have been added afterwards; ῑ pap. 17, 19, 20 After η, λ or μ

2753. MAGICAL SPELLS

Fr. D 15.0 × 15.5 cm.

Fourth century

The papyrus, on which **2751** was written, was cut in smaller pieces. On the verso of these pieces a magical text was written across the fibres. The verso of A is blank. We know from the recto text that Fr. E is to be placed in the same column, and above Fr. D; there are 5 lines lost between them. The handwriting on these fragments is the same, but their damaged state does not permit judgement as to whether one charm or two charms are represented. There are remains of a previous column written on the left of Fr. D. Since some lines in E can be restored from PGM II vii 226–30 and since D is to be restored from PGM II vii 231–41, P. Lond. i 121, p. 91. 230–46, continuity as a single charm becomes possible between E and D. Fr. C could be restored from PGM II i 58–61, P. Lond. i 121, 537–9, and therefore may also be a charm. We may believe that the remains of the column preceding D also deal with magic.

Fr. E
] ἐπὶ τ[οῦ λύχνου
]. νελλυ[
 χεῖράν c]ου [καὶ χεδόν σου ἐγρηγοροῦντος
 ἦξει] ὁ θεὸς [c καὶ λέξει σοι καὶ

Fr. D

ἐμ[?] μ[ἀξῆς τὴν ζωγραφίαν τῷ Ἰσιακῷ μέλανι]
 τ[ὸ δὲ ῥάκος] ..ξ[.].[
 ἀ[ναλά]μβανε ὕδατι ὁμ[βρίμω ἐπὶ τοῦ]
 λύχ[ν]ου λεγόμενος οὐτ[ος ὁ λόγος (?) ἐπικαλοῦμαι σε]
 5 τὸν ἀκέφαλον θεόν, τὸν [ἐν τοῖς ποσὶν ἔχοντα κεφαλὴν καὶ]
 τὴν [σ]ρασιν· ἀστράπτοντ[α καὶ βροντάζοντα,]
 cὺ εἶ οὗ τὸ στόμα πῦρ [διὰ] παντ[ὸς προσχέεται, cὺ εἶ ὁ ἐπὶ]
 τῆς Ἀνάγκης· ἐπι[καλ]ῶμαι σε [τὸν ἀκέφαλον]
 θεὸν [[...]], [τὸν ἐν τοῖς ποσὶν ἔχοντα κεφαλὴν καὶ ὄρασιν, Ἰε-]
 10 χνρ(όν) B[ησαν ἀμβλυπόν. cὺ εἶ ὁ ἐπὶ κορῷ κατα-]
 κείμενος καὶ προ[ς] κεφαλῇ[ς]..[ἔχων]
 ὑπαγκώνιον καὶ ἀσφάλτου μ[]
 [ὃ]ν λ[έγο]υσιν Ἀνοῦθ Ἀνοῦθ ἄνακτα.[
 [...οὐκ]’ εἰ δαίμων, ἀλλὰ τὸ αἶμα τ[ῶν]]
 15 καὶ τῶν λ̄ καὶ τῶν ρδ̄ ἱεράκων ‘καί’ τῷ[ν πρὸς κε-]
 φαλῆς τ[οῦ] Οὐζί[ρε]ως λαλούντω[ν] καὶ ἀ[γρυ-]
 [πνούντων

Fr. E]ἐπὶ τοῦ λύχνου as in D4? If so, perhaps cf. PGM II vii 226.
2 ? τοῦ ἐλλυχνίου.

Fr. D 3 ὄδωρ ὁμβριμον: see P. Lond. i 121, 224-6. The headless god says about himself that he is ἰδρώς ὁμβρος (*BCH* xxxviii (1914), p. 197), in P. Lond. i 46, 152, p. 70.

5 The god whose power is asked for is the ἀκέφαλος θεός who was usually asked for aggressive magic. His function is described in the Testament of Solomon (ed. C. C. McCown, Leipzig, 1922) where in 9, 1 he is Phonos (= slaughter), cf. A. Delatte, 'Études sur magie grecque', in *BCH* xxxviii (1914), pp. 189 seqq.; K. Preisendanz, 'Akephalos, der kopflose Gott', in *Beihefte zum alten Orient* vii (Leipzig, 1926); Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets* (Chicago, 1950), pp. 58, 110-11, 164-6, et passim; PGM II vii 230-49, viii 65-110; P. Lond. i 121, pp. 92, 222-71. This god is usually described as τὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς ποσὶν ἔχοντα τὴν ὄρασιν κτλ., cf. PGM vii 234, viii 91; Bonner, l.c., p. 110. The length of line in **2753** is entirely uncertain; perhaps the shorter formula without κεφαλὴν καὶ should be restored in 5 and 9.

9-10 Restored to follow 8. In the beginning of 10, there is either χαρ or χυρ. It is likely to contain a *nomen magicum* which could be εραχαξ (PGM II vii 447) or Ἰσχυρός (*BCH* 1914, p. 196, P. Lond. i 46, 18), two names used in addressing the headless god.

12 The usual form is ῥητίνης καὶ ἀσφάλτου, PGM II vii 237, viii 99.

15 The number is not constant in the various papyri: ἀλλὰ τὸ τῶν ἱβ' ἱεράκων τῶν πρὸς κεφαλῆς, P. Lond. i 121, 239-40; ἀλλὰ τὸ <αἷμα> τῶν β' ἱεράκων, PGM II vii 240; ἀλλὰ τὸ αἷμα τῶν <ν> δύο ἱεράκων, *ibid.* viii 100.

16 Οὐσί[ρ]εως is likely. In other places we meet κεφαλῆς Οὐρανοῦ, PGM II vii 240; Ὁσίρεως, *ibid.* vii 100. Osiris, as is known, was beheaded by Set-Typhon who was also beheaded (cf. Bonner, l.c., p. 165). This may interpret the relation between the headless god and Osiris. This relation is clear in PGM I v 97-102, εὐ καλῶ τὸν ἀκέφαλον . . . εὐ εἰ Ὁσορόννωφρις.

Fr. B

]το
].υς
]ν

Fr. C

κ]αὶ ἀπ' ἀκαθαρ[σίας
] ἐπὶ τοῦ λύχνου
ὀλ]ομέλας π.]

V. OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS

2754. EDICT CONCERNING LEGAL PROCEDURE

25 × 22.5 cm.

A.D. 111

This well-preserved sheet of papyrus contains a series of somewhat disjointed injunctions, mostly concerning matters of legal procedure, clearly from a prefectural edict. The text begins without any form of prescript (though it is of course possible that there was a preceding column), and it may be that it is a précis of the edict or simply preserves extracts from it (that only one edict is concerned is suggested by the last line). The prefect will have been Sulpicius Similis.

It is of course possible that *προτεθήτω* (l. 13) was copied along with the last set of instructions, thus referring only to that, when this series of extracts was made. The provisions in fact split up into four sections, namely lines 1-5, 5-7, 7-8, and 8-13; and it is between these sections that asyndeton occurs. The three last (ll. 5-13) deal with judicial procedure with regard to the *conventus*, the first (ll. 1-5) with administrative matters which might also come within the scope of the *conventus*. It may be that what we have comes from a specific set of provisions issued to regulate proceedings at a coming *conventus*. Since we have the date *Pharmouthi 1* in l. 13, this could not be earlier than that in Alexandria in June-August, if the dates suggested by Wilcken (*Archiv* iv 415 seqq.) are right. Possibly the fragmentary BGU 288 is relevant also.

The text is written in a spiky semi-cursive; there is a wide lower margin of 13 cm. The verso is blank.

Τῶν ἐπικινῶν ἢ ἄλλαις αἰτίαις ἀπολυθῆναι βουλομένων οἱ κωμογραμματεῖς
ἐνορκοῖ τὰ ὀνόματα διδόντωσαν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ παρακολουθοῦντος· οἱ δὲ πλαστοῖς
(vac.) ὑποδύμενοι ὀνόμασιν οὐ χρηματικὴν πείσονται ζημίαν, τὸν τοῦ
θεῶν ἐμφανεστάτου Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Νέρουα Τραιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Γερ-
μανικοῦ

- 5 Δακικοῦ πλανῶντες ἔλαιον. οὐδεμίαν οἱ τοῖς βιβλίοις ἐμφερόμενοι παραί-
τησιν ἔξουσιν ὑπερτίθεσθαι βουλόμενοι, πάλαι τοῦ διαλογισμοῦ τὴν προθεσμίαν
εἰδότες. τὰς δωροδοκίας ἐπὶ πᾶσι κωλύω γείνεσθαι, μὴ νῦν πρῶτον ἀπο-
γορεύων τὸ κακούργημα τοῦτο. οἱ φίλους ἡγεμονικοὺς λαβόντες πρότερον
10 κριτὰς καὶ μὴ ἀπαρτισθέντες ἐντυχανέτωσαν Ἰουλίῳ Μαξίμῳ τῷ ἀρχι-
στάtori φίλῳ, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι πρὸς τοὺς τῶν προτεθέντων τοῦ διαλογισμοῦ ἐξή-
κ[ο]ντος μὴ φθάσῃ ἀκουσθῆναι δυνήσεται ἐπὶ τοῦ κατὰ νομοῦ στρατηγοῦ
κριθῆναι. εἰ δὲ οἱ κριταὶ αἵτιοι γέ[ν]ωνται τῆς παρ[ο]λκῆς, καθέξω αὐτοὺς μέ-
χρι ἂν ἀπαρτίσωσι τὰς διαγνώσει[ς]. προτεθήτω. (ἔτους) ιδ' Φαρμούθι α.

4 τραϊανου pap. 5 l. ἔλεον 7 εἰδοτες pap. 7-8 l. ἀπαγορεύων 10 ε of πρόσ corr.
from υ? First τ of προτεθέντων corr. (from θ?) 11 Correct to νομόν, see commentary

'The village-secretaries are to present under oath the names of those who are infirm or who wish to be released on other grounds, with the strategus supervising. It will be no monetary penalty that those will suffer who assume feigned names, abusing the clemency of the most manifest of gods, the Emperor Caesar Nerva Trajan Augustus Germanicus Dacicus. Those concerned in the petitions and wishing to defer the case will have no excuse, having known long ago the time fixed for the conventus. I absolutely prohibit the receiving of bribes, not now for the first time forbidding this evil. Let those who have obtained friends of the prefect on a previous occasion as judges and who have not yet had their cases settled petition Julius Maximus, archistator and friend, the others to the . . . [see note on 10-12]. If anyone of those whose names have been posted at the termination of the conventus has not already obtained a hearing, he will be able to be judged before the nome-strategus. But should the judges be responsible for the delay, I will detain them until they settle the cases. Let this be publicly displayed. The 14th year, Pharmouthi 1.'

1-2 For infirmity of one kind or another as a claim for dispensation from liturgies, cf. P. Flor. 312, 5; 382 (= 57), 63; PSI 1103, 14; and 889 18; perhaps also P. Fay. 106. Oertel, *Die Liturgie*, p. 390, n. 5; Reinmuth, *The Prefect of Egypt*, pp. 20-1; Lewis, *Atti Milano*, 518-21.

3 Perhaps the sentence should run οὐ <μόνον> χρηματικήν?

8 φίλους ἡγεμονικούς: does this mean the officials to whom the prefect delegated cases? (One might note M. Chr. 372 iv 13, and 706 6; but the φίλοι there are legal advisers, not actual judges as in the present text.)

9-10 On the archistator see Gilliam, *CP* lvi (1961), pp. 100-3.

10-12 οἱ δ' ἄλλοι κτλ. There must be some corruption here (apart from writing errors, for which see the app. crit.: perhaps indicative of confusion?). τοὺς (l. 10) needs a complement. The simplest solution perhaps is to assume an omission at this point, thus: οἱ δ' ἄλλοι πρὸς τοὺς <- - -. εἰάν δέ τις> τῶν προτεθέντων κτλ. The content of the missing clause is not obvious, but the slip from τοὺς to τις would not be difficult. This emendation points out the difference between the fact that there are cases still unsettled from a previous conventus and the intention that no cases should continue unsettled after the coming conventus. For οἱ προτεθέντες cf., e.g., P. Hamb. 29, 3-4. The apparent judicial competence of the strategus (ἐπὶ τοῦ κατὰ νομόν στρατηγοῦ κριθῆναι, ll. 11-12), without mention of any directive from the prefect, is perhaps to be explained by abridgement in making the present text; the clause is tantamount to a general delegation. The strategi are presumably to take action in the nomes rather than at the conventus-centre.

2755. EDICT OF CARACALLA

8.4 × 11.6 cm.

Third century

Twelve lines, broken on all sides, identified as another text of the second edict of Caracalla preserved in the well-known P. Giss. 40 (col. ii 1-15). The present papyrus contains about a third of the edict proper. In a few places its text differs from or serves to restore the reading of P. Giss. 40. A second hand has added some alterations, sometimes changing to the Giessen version where the first hand had written otherwise but sometimes diverging from it when the first hand already had it.

The text is written along the fibres in an official hand not unlike that of P. Giss. 40 but somewhat lighter; the alterations are in a heavier slanting hand. The verso is blank.

.
]...[.]^ςιν ἀποδίδωμι [
 ἀπ]οφάσεως εἰς τὸ διακατέχειν [
] καὶ τούτοις τοῖς μετὰ ταῦ[τα
] πρὸς χρόνον κωλυθεῖσι^ν μετὰ τ[ὸ
 5 διάστημ]α οὐκ ὀνειδικθήσεται ἢ τῆς ἀ[τιμίας
 φανε]ρόν ἐστιν ^{των}[[πῶς]] ^ηπλήρ[[ης]]
^{ως}[[ς]] ἵνα μή ^{τε πονηροτερ-}[[τις στενότερον]]
 τῶ[ν] ῥημάτων τοῦ προτέρου δ[ιατάγματος
] ὑποστρεφέτωσαν πάντε[ς
 10 ἐλευ]θέραν με τούτοις πᾶσιν τ[ῇν
] τὴν γῆν καὶ εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην[
 ἐδοκί]μασα ἵνα μηδ' αὐτοῖς ἡ [

4 ν of κωλυθεῖσι^ν added by second hand 9 ὑπο- pap. 11 After γῆν a high stroke of ink
 12 ἵνα pap. δαυ written in rather messy fashion There are two spots of ink below the end of this
 line. They are too high up to be from the line below: they may, however, be from an alteration to
 that line

1 Only the feet of letters of this line remain. ἀποδίδωμι can be read with some certainty, but before εἰν the traces are vague. However, they can perhaps be interpreted as]χηκ[ο]εἰν.

2 εἰς τὸ διακατέχειν[: εἰς appears to be right but is written very clumsily; the c runs well into the following τ. P. Giss. 40 at this point (ii 3) was read as [.]κατέχειν. From the plate the papyrus seems to have εἰ, and there is a trace before]κ which could be from the tail of an alpha. The other letters could just be fitted into the lacuna.

3 τούτοις τοῖς μετὰ: cf. ll. 3-4 in P. Giss. 40 ii. At the end of l. 3 the Giessen papyrus was read as του[. . .]; = του[τοις]? If so, τοῖς has been omitted. μετὰ: so presumably P. Giss., l. 4 init. Should the Giessen text after this be restored τῆς τῆς[ξ]ε[ως] αὐτῶν <ἡ> συ[ν]ηγορίας (cf. the Roman Law citations in *ed. pr.*, p. 35)? (So already Schubart and Gradenwitz, *ZSS* xxxvi (1915), p. 425 (*BL* i 462).)

6 Neither reading nor implication of the first alteration is clear. Both attempts to correct πλήρης seem to be by the second hand. The combination of readings suggests that πῶς πλήρη of the Giessen text was the reading intended.

Appended is a revised text of the edict from l. 3 of the Giessen version; underlining indicates the overlaps of P. Giss. 40 ii with the new fragment.

3 ἀποφάσεως εἰς τὸ διακατέχειν ἢ λαμβάνειν τὰς πολιτικὰς τιμὰς. καὶ τούτοις <τοῖς>
 4 μετὰ ταῦτα τῆς τάξεως αὐτῶν <ἡ> συνηγορίας πρὸς χρόνον κωλυθεῖσι μετὰ τὸ
 5 πληρωθῆναι τὸ τοῦ χρόνου διάστημα οὐκ ὀνειδικθήσεται ἢ τῆς ἀτιμίας παραση⁶ μείωσις.
 καὶ εἰ φανερόν ἐστιν πῶς πλήρη τὴν χάριτά μου παρενέθηκα, ὅμως⁷ ἵνα μή τις στενό-
 6 τερον παρερμηνεύσῃ τὴν χάριτά μου ἐκ τῶν ῥημάτων τοῦ⁸ προτέρου διατάγματος, ἐν ᾧ

οὕτως ἀπεκρινάμην· ὑποστρεφέτωσαν πάντες ⁹ εἰς τὰς πατρίδας τὰς ἰδίας, ἐλευθέραν με
τούτοις πᾶσιν τὴν ἐπάνοδον δεδωκέναι ¹⁰ εἰς ἅσας τὴν γῆν καὶ εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην τὴν
ἐμὴν δηλωτέον ἐδοκίμασα, ἵνα μὴ ¹¹ παρ' αὐτοῖς (μηδ' αὐτοῖς P. Oxy.) {ἦ} δειλίας αἰτία
μηδὲ (ἦ P. Giss., ? P. Oxy.) παρὰ τοῖς κακοήθεσιν ἐπηρείας ἀφορμὴ ὑπολειφθῇ.

2756. DECLARATION CONCERNING RESIDENCE IN ALEXANDRIA

10 × 11.4 cm.

A.D. 78/9

Sworn declaration to an amphodarch (1 note) from a father that his son is temporarily resident in Alexandria. The information was required by an order of the prefect, no doubt on account of the poll-tax: see ll. 13 seqq. The lower part of the text is missing.

A particular point of interest supplied by the papyrus is the establishment of the correct *nomen* of the prefect C. Aeternius Fronto (Stein, *Die Präfekten*, p. 39) and the confirmation of his altered dating (8 note).

I am indebted to Professor Youtie for advice on this text.

[ἀ]μφοδάρχ[η]
[Δρόμου] Θρ[ή]ρι[δος]] (vac.)
[παρὰ Νικά]νορος τοῦ Ξωστράτου [καὶ]
[...].[...].[...] αἱ τοῦ μητρὸς Θαικάτος [τῆς]
5 Πτολεμαίου ἀμφοτέρων τῶ[ν]
ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγ[χ]ων πόλεω[ς]. πρὸς τὰ [ταχ-]
θέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου ἡγεμόν[ος]
Αἰτερνί[ο]υ Φρόντωνος περὶ τῶν
ἐπ' Ἀλεξανδρίας διατριβόντ[ων]
10 ἐπερωτώμενοι ὑφ' ἡμῶν ὑπὲρ
τοῦ Ν[ι]κάγορος υἱοῦ Ἰσιδώρου γερδί[ου]
ἀποφαινόμεθα τοῦτον ἐπ' Ἀλεξ[αν-]
δρίας διατρίβειν καὶ ἐν ὁμολόγ[ω] λα-
αγραφίας τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἐνδεκ[άτου]
15 ἔτους Αὐτοκράτορος Οὐεσπασιανοῦ
Σεβαστοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτ[οῦ] ἀμφόδου Δρό-
[μο]υ [Θ]οήριδος καὶ [ὀμνύομεν Αὐ-]
[τοκ]ράτορα Κα[ί]σα[ρα]

10 l. ὑμῶν

13-14 l. λαογραφίας

'To . . ., amphodarch of the Avenue of Thoeiris, from Nicanor, son of Sostratos, and . . ., her mother being Thaisas daughter of Ptolemaeus, both of the city of the Oxyrhynchi. In response to the orders of the lord prefect Aeternius Fronto concerning those sojourning in Alexandria, questioned by you concerning Isidorus, the son of Nicanor, weaver, we declare that he is sojourning in Alexandria and is in the official list of poll-tax payers for the present eleventh year of the Emperor Vespasian Augustus in the same quarter of the Avenue of Thoeiris; and we swear by the Emperor Caesar . . .

1 It is not absolutely certain that this is the top line of the document; thus there may have been other addressees before the amphodarch (10 note). ἀμφοδάρχ[η: apparently the only appearance of this official so far in Oxyrhynchus. Note, however, 257 22, 2186 6.

4]ατος, if correct, may be from a feminine name. Two declarants are required (ἀμφοτέρων in 5). Perhaps we have here the wife of Nicanor, perhaps ἀπάτωρ and so identified through her mother and grandfather, as the most likely identification of the second declarant.

6-7 [ταχ]θέντα: the supplement at the end of 6 can hardly have been much longer, so that [προσταχ]θέντα or [κελευε]θέντα must be excluded.

8 Αἰτερνί[ο]υ Φρόντωνος: the papyrus may be presumed to supply the correct name of this prefect, palaeographically close to (the apparent) Αἰτερνίου of the Froehner vase (Robert, *Collection Froehner* i 119, no. 75; = *AE* 1937, p. 236) which is supported by Codex C (Urbina) of Josephus, *Bell. Iud.* vi 4, 3. *Aeternius* is the reading in the Latin version of *Bell. Iud.*, to which the variants in the other leading MSS. are closer. As regards his date, ἐνδεκ[άτου] in 14 supports Pflaum's revision of the Froehner vase inscription (*Latomus* x (1951), p. 473); Οὐεσπασιανοῦ has therefore been supplied in l. 15.

10 ἡμῶν: the first letter is broken but does not appear to be υ.

13-14 Perhaps read λαο-]/[α]γραφίας? The present text, if correctly restored, enables a reassessment to be made of the phrase ὁμολ()λαογρ() (see, e.g., Wessely, *SPP* i 10; 478 22 note; P. Ryl. 209, 10 note; and Van Groningen, *Mnem.* n.s. l (1922), pp. 124-37). In all the examples noted of these words in connection, both are abbreviated, except in 478 22-3, δι' ὁμολόγου λαογραφίας, where the double genitive is ambiguous for purposes of analysis. It now appears that ὁμολόγου should be treated as a noun, since in 2756 ἐν implies a dative, which will then have been followed by a genitive. P. Wisc. 17, 15-16 and 22 show that δι' ὁμολόγου λαογραφίας is equivalent in meaning to διὰ λαογραφίας.

16 αὐτ[οῦ]: for the form of τ, cf. the first τ of Αὐτοκράτορος in 15.

2757. EXTRACTS FROM PREFECTORIAL RECORDS

20 × 12 cm.

post A.D. 79

The name of the prefect of the summer of A.D. 70 (see 2349) is illuminated by this papyrus, which has been cited in the latest list of prefects (*BASP* iv 4, pp. 83 seq.). The piece has the top margin and parts of two columns numbered ιε and ις, and headed Κόλωνος and Λούπου, i.e. L. Peducaeus Colo(?) and Ti. Julius Lupus. That Κόλωνος is genitive is further confirmed by line 5, ending Πεδουκαῖος Κόλων, where the syllabification Κολῶν/[ος] would be contrary to the usual rules. 2349 26 reads Πεδουκαῖω Κολων[ι]. It was first reported as Κολωμ . . . (Stein, *Die Präf.*, p. 39), then corrected to Κολωνω (*JRS* xlv (1954), p. 116) and printed Κολώνω in 2349.

Colo is attested, once and not without doubt, as a *nomen*, see Schulze, *Gesch. lat. Eigenn.*, pp. 295, 313 (*CIL* viii 15472), but the Latin *colonus* is rendered by κόλων, e.g. in 2476 32, 48. Consequently the Latin form of this man's *cognomen* is still in some doubt, but the Greek one is certainly Κόλων here and probably the same in 2349 26. *Colonus* as a Roman name has only two dubious attestations, one an inscription, where

a woman's name may be *Colona P. f. Maxima* (Schulze, op. cit., p. 295), though the copies differ seriously (*CIL* v 3361), and the other Pliny, *Ep.* ix, 9, where the recipient's name is given in the *a* family of manuscripts as *Colono* but in the rest as *Coloni*.¹ Here *Colono* is accepted by the editors and by Syme (*JRS* lviii (1968), p. 147).

Each column contains a decision of the prefect named in the heading, preceded by the date of delivery, the names of the litigants, and the introductory phrase ἐκ τῶν ῥηθέντων. Though the subjects of the two decisions are not absolutely clear because of the fragmentary state of the papyrus, it seems reasonable to think that the roll was a collection for use in some particular proceedings.

The back contains parts of three columns of accounts written across the fibres in at least three hands and much abbreviated.

i

		]Κόλωνος	(m. 2) ιε
(m. 1)	ἔτους .	θ]εοῦ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ Φαῶφι ιθ̄	
	.....]	ὁ καὶ Τμ.ρος πρὸς Ἀπολλώνιον [...]	
	.....]	ς τοῦ τετελευτηκότος αὐτοῦ διδύμου	
5	ἀδελφοῦ. ἐκ]	τῶν ῥηθέντων. Πεδουκαῖος Κόλων	
	.....τὸ χ]	ειρόγραφον ὅτι μὲν οὐ παραπεποιήται	
	δῆλον πεποι]	ηκεν αὐτὸς ὁ τὴν παραποίησιν κατηγο-	
	ρῶν.]	γὰρ φωνῆς ἀκινδύνου τὸ ἔγκλημα ἐς-	
	.....]	εγγράψαι οὐ τετόλμηκεν εἰκότως	
10	.....]	ε χειρόγραφον αὐτὸ καλεσειεναλλα	
	.....]	κης τῆς ὅτι νομίμως ἐτέθη μη. αρ	
	.....]	ητουμένης. εἴ γε δε[[δ. [...]	
	.....]	φάλισται πᾶν ὅ τι ἐὰν ..[
	.....]	φων τοῦτο εἶναι κ.[
15	.....]	τουτο. [
	.....]	τον κ[
	- - - - -		

¹ So Schuster; Mynors (O.C.T.) has 'Colono M: Coloni γ'.

θ]εοῦ. The copy is later than the death of Vespasian, 23rd June, A.D. 79. The handwriting does not permit a close dating, but it seems to be of the late first or early second century.

3 Τμαρος seems the most probable reading in spite of an apparent trace between the tops of *alpha* and *rho*. As a personal name this would be new, though it is listed in Pape, *Eigennamen*, as a variant of Τόμαρος, the mountain at Dodona.

4 Possible lines for a supplement might be (1) [καί] at the end of 3, followed in 4 by a short name in the accusative and υἱός, or (2) the name of Apollonius' father—with a genitive in -ου—qualified by the following phrase, 'his dead twin brother'.

5 ἐκ τῶν ῥηθέντων. Cf. 237 vii 40.

6 It would be convenient to fill out the beginning of the line with εἶπεν. τὸ χ]ειρόγραφον, but the earliest occurrence of the εἶπεν formula is dated to A.D. 90 (R. A. Coles, *Papyrologica Bruxellensia*, 4, p. 41). After the consultation formula in ii 4 seqq., [πυθόμενος] Ἀρείου τοῦ νομικοῦ τί etc., it seems even harsher to omit εἶπεν in ii 9 and since these 'consultation' formulas are earliest attested in 706 (c. A.D. 115), Coles, op. cit., p. 51, it may be that the εἶπεν formula occurred here. However, on the present evidence it will be better to supply no introductory verb and use a stop-gap, e.g. τοῦτο τὸ χ]ειρόγραφον.

8 φωνῆς ἀκινδύνου. This looks like a technical term, but I have found no other example of it. The sense obviously is that the allegation was made orally to avoid the penalty for false accusation. Restore, e.g. (space for punctuation?) μετὰ] γὰρ φωνῆς ἀκινδύνου τὸ ἔγκλημα ἐς[κεύακεν ἀλλ'] ἐνγράψαι οὐ τετόλμηκεν, εἰκότως . . . 'He manufactured the allegation out of words, running no risk, but he did not dare to put it in writing, naturally . . .'

10 The obvious restoration here is simply τὸ δ]ὲ χειρόγραφον αὐτό, but a stop-gap for the beginning of the line is hard to think of; εἰκότως [νοῦν ἔχων or [εὐ φρονῶν would do for the sense perhaps, but the space is too short.

The following sentence is also intractable. Perhaps τὸ δ]ὲ χειρόγραφον αὐτὸ καλέσει ἐναλλα[γὴν διαθή]κης τῆς ὅτι νομίμως ἐτέθη μηδὲ ἄρ[τι ἀμφισβ]ητουμένης. 'And the contract itself will require alteration of the will, about which there is no shadow of dispute even now that it was legally drawn up.' The alternative articulation καλέσειεν ἀλλα[is more attractive than ἐναλλα[γὴν, but I cannot construct a satisfactory sentence with it.

δε[[δ]. The last two letters are struck through several times; the cancellation may extend back to δε where there seems to be one line crossing the letters, but it looks like an accident. The second bracket (]] is omitted because there is no means of judging how far the cancellation extended, though the simplest possibility is a dittography of δέ.

ii 3 Θαμον[. *Upsilon* is probable. The only known names beginning in this way are feminine, yet it seems more likely that this is the name of Thauetion's representative than that it is the name of another woman whose representative acted also for Thauetion.

5 νομικοῦ. Cf. Taubenschlag, *Law*², p. 518. Areius is not in the list in W. Kunkel, *Herkunft u. soziale Stellung d. röm. Juristen*, 269 seqq.

[. τ[most likely; υ[possible. The evidence is too slight for a specific supplement, but a general one, τ[οιούτων is perhaps enough.

6 [. ε[most likely.

7 ἐν ᾧ δεῖ διατάσσεσθαι. The antecedent is perhaps something like τύπος, e.g. ἐ[κτεθείκας τύπον] ἐν ᾧ δεῖ δ . . ., but this is long by comparison with 8, where the restoration δεδώκ[αεν ἀποκληρο]]νόμους—12 letters—is virtually certain.

γραμμα[. This may well be a reference to language i.e. γράμματα Αἰγύπτια or 'Ελληνικά, cf. *WB*. s.v. γράμμα (3). Restore perhaps γράμμα[τα ἐν οἷς γραφῇ]]ναι, sc. δεῖ from 7 and, awkwardly, I must admit, διαθήκας as subject of γραφῇναι. The active infinitive of a -μι verb will be better if a plausible one can be thought of.

8 ἀποκληρο]]νόμους. Cf. 12. For the whole clause compare perhaps *MChr.* 84 15 τὸν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων νόμον διδόναι ἐξουσίαν πᾶσι τοῖς διατιθεμένοις καταλείπειν οἷς βούλονται τὰ ἴδια.

9 θ]έλωσιν. The end of this line may easily have been left blank if there was no introductory verb, but see i 6 n.

12 πείδων. Comparison with 9 indicates that παίδων is intended, but the form of the letter suggests that the writer made an *epsilon* by mistake.

14 After the gap there is a long diagonal rising from the left at a shallow angle. This and the vacant space suggest that the prefect's judgement ended with 13 or the first half of 14 and was followed after a space by something else. The diagonal could be the mark of a numeral, standing in 15, where only a few tops of letters remain.

2758. PETITION TO THE STRATEGUS ARCHIAS

20.2 × 8.8 cm.

c. A.D. 110-12

Heraclas son of Pausirion presents a petition against Apollos son of Heraclides, both from Oxyrhynchus, that he had insulted his wife Taamois. A similar complaint is found in P. Osl. 22, A.D. 127 (*JE A* xl (1954), pp. 32 seq.). The handwriting, of slowly written documentary type, is similar to P. Phil. 1, A.D. 125 (C. H. Roberts, *Greek Literary Hands*, p. 13).

Αρχία στρα(τηγῶ)
 παρὰ Ἡρακλᾶτος Παν-
 χειρίωνος ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγ-
 χων πόλεως. τῇ διελθού-
 5 τῃ ἑ ὀψίτερον τῆς ὥρας
 Ἀπολλῶς Ἡρακλείδου ἀπὸ
 τῆς αὐτῆς πόλ(εως) γεινόμενος ἐπὶ
 τῷ αὐτῷ ἀμφόδῳ ἐπῆλ-
 θεν τῇ γυναικί μου Τααμοί-
 10 τι οὕτῃ πρὸ τῆς θύρας μεθύ-
 ων καὶ ἐξελυδόρησεν καὶ
 ἀνέσ{o}υρεν αὐτή<ν>, παρόντων
 πλείεστων ἀξιοχρέων ἀ<ν>δρῶ[ν]
 ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα ἐπὶ τοῦ ῥῆ-
 15 τοῦ δηλώσω. διὸ ἐπιδιδοῦ[ς]
 τὸ ἀναφόριον, ἀξιῶ ἐκδ[ι-]
 κηθῆναι ὅπως ἐ[ι]ς τὸ μέλ-
 λον ἀνεπηρέα[ςτος cὺν]
 τοῖς ἐμοῖς φυλαχθ[ῶ. (ἔτους) ιδ?]
 20 Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσα[ρος]
 Νέρουα Τραιανοῦ C[εβαστοῦ]
 Γερμανικοῦ Δακ[ικο]ῦ[.....]

1 *ετρ* pap. 6-7 *ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλ(εως)* added later by a second hand 11 l. *ἐξελοιδόρησεν*

'To Archias the strategus from Heraclas son of Pausirion from the city of the Oxyrhynchi. On the past fifth (day) in the evening, Apollos son of Heraclides from the same city, who dwells in the same district, while he was drunk attacked my wife Taamois while she was in front of the door and he abused and exposed her. There were many important men present, whose names I shall report on the day fixed for the hearing. Therefore I deliver my petition and I ask you to avenge me and to prevent him from hurting me and my household for the future. 14th(?) year of the reign of the Emperor Caesar Nerva Trajan Augustus Germanicus Dacicus . . .'

1 Archias the strategus is not to be found in the lists of Bilabel, *RE* 1931, art. 'Strategus'; H. Henne, *Liste de stratèges*; G. Mussies, *P. Lugd. Bat.* xiv. In an unedited document about sale of land from Oxyrhynchus dated A.D. 110-11, a certain Archias is involved in the sale of ousiac land and the proposal of the seller passes through him. In such cases the official was usually the strategus (cf. *P. Amh.* 68, 97). If this identification is right, it is likely that he is the same Archias as in 2758, which could be dated not far from A.D. 110-11 since the period of office of the strategus was three years (cf. J. G. Tait, *JEA* viii (1922), pp. 166-73).

4-5 *ὀψίτερον* with part. gen. is frequent in the papyri, as in, e.g., BGU 759, 6, A.D. ii; cf. Moulton, *Prol.*, p. 72, Mayser, ii² 127. But also *διὰ τὸ τῆς ὥρας ἄδηλον* (*P. Osl. inv.* 1482, 16 and note, A.D. 127, in *JEA* xl (1954), p. 32).

7 The verb *γίνομαι* with *ἐπί* and dative is used in the same meaning as *καταγίνομαι* 'to dwell'.

11 *καὶ ἐξελοιδόρησεν καὶ ἀνέε{ο}υρεν αὐτή(ν)*: the clause is a novelty in such assaults (cf. *JEA* xl (1954), p. 32, l. 21 n.). The compound *ἐκλοιδορέω* is met here for the first time.

22 The mutilated part may be similar to *P. Osl.* ii 28.

2759. REVOCATION OF A WILL

30 × 11.8 cm.

19 April, A.D. 116

Notification sent to the agoranomoi by one of their assistants that, in accordance with the instructions of the strategus Apollonius, he had given back to Potamon the will which he had made some days before (ll. 1-15) and the signature of Potamon that he received the will (ll. 15-18).

Parallel texts all come from Oxyrhynchus and they all fall within the same 20-year period. The closest parallel is 106 of A.D. 135. Our document is an official statement, as are also 106 and 601 (= *Cair. Mus.* 10005 = *P. Preis.* 32) of A.D. 116. 601 is addressed to the agoranomoi by the *βιβλιοφύλαξ ἐγκτήσεων*, but 106 is addressed by the *ὑπηρέτης*, as in our document. 107 and 178 (publ. in full by A. E. Samuel, *JJP* xiii (1961), pp. 39-42) are acknowledgements addressed to one and the same person, Horion the scribe of the agoranomeion of the city of Oxyrhynchus, by two different persons stating that they received back their wills. *P. bibl. univ. Giessen Inv.* 311 (*Chr. d'Ég.* 1967, pp. 360 seqq.) seems to bear on the question, but the editor's restorations and inferences cannot stand (see now N. Lewis, *Chr. d'Ég.* 1968 pp. 375 seqq.).

[τοῖς] ἀγορανόμοις
 Δίδυμος Σωτάδου ὑπηρέτης
 [ἀπὴ]ν[γει]λα ὑμῖν συντεταχέναι τὸν τοῦ
 [νομ(οῦ)] στρατηγὸν Ἀπολλώνιον ἀπο-
 5 [δοῦ]ναι Ποτάμωνι τῷ καὶ Μαξίμῳ [Ε]ὑ-
 [δαίμ]νος τοῦ Εὐδαίμονος ἀπ' Ὀξυ-
 [ρύγχων] πόλεως ἣν ἔθετο δι' ὑμῶν
 [τῷ] ἐγχετῶτι μῆνι Φαρμουῦθι [
 [διαθ]ήκην, τ[ο]ῦ τοῦ ἀξιόσαντος τοῦ Πο-
 10 [τάμ]μος, ἣν καὶ δι' ἐμοῦ ἀνέ-
 [λα]βξ. (ἔτους) ιθ Αὐτοκράτορος
 [Καίσα(ρος) Ν]έρ[ο]να Τραϊανοῦ Ἀρίστου
 [Σε]β[αστο]ῦ Γερμανικοῦ Δακικοῦ
 Παρθικοῦ Φαρμουῦθι τετράδι
 15 καὶ εἰκάδι. (2nd hand) Ποτάμων ὁ καὶ Μά-
 ξιμος Εὐδαίμ[ο]ς τοῦ Εὐδαί-
 μονος ἀνέλαβον τὴν προκειμέ-
 νην διαθήκην.

'To the agoranomoi from Didymus son of Sotades, assistant. I hereby inform you that the strategus of the nome, Apollonius, has instructed me to give back to Potamon also called Maximus son of Eudaemon son of Eudaemon, of the city of the Oxyrhynchi, the will which he made through you in the current month Pharmouthi . . ., in compliance with Potamon's request, and he received it back through me. The 19th year of the Emperor Caesar Nerva Trajan Optimus Augustus Germanicus Dacicus Parthicus, Pharmouthi the 24th. (second hand) I Potamon, also called Maximus son of Eudaemon son of Eudaemon, have received my aforesaid will.'

3 Cf. 106 6.

συντεταχέναι in 106 6, but ἐντεταχέναι in 601 = P. Preis. 32, 3, A.D. 116.

συντεταχέναι τὸν τοῦ νομοῦ στρατηγόν . . . : It is understood that an application had already been made to the strategus to revoke the will (cf. P. Mert. 75, introd.), or at least a notification was sent to him as the head of the administration of the nome.

2760. PETITION TO A PREFECT

12.5 × 21 cm.

c. A.D. 179/80

This petitioner left Oxyrhynchus to deliver blankets for the use of the soldiers of the Egyptian legion, *II Traiana Fortis*. At his destination, from which the petition was written, he had been detained more than forty days and his consignment had not yet been accepted. On the grounds that he and his companions were running short of

supplies and that the sowing season was at hand, he asked for the business to be settled so that he could go home.

The place of writing was probably Alexandria, which was the principal military base in Egypt (Lesquier, *L'Armée*, p. 378). Since the petitioner was an ex-cavalryman and wanted to be back in the Oxyrhynchite nome for the sowing season he is unlikely to have been a weaver. He may have been a *ἱματιέμπορος* as well as having interests in the land, but it is more likely that he was performing a liturgy, say as a *παραλημπτή* *δημοσίου ἱματισμοῦ* (cf. P. Ryl. 189 1 seq.).

The papyrus tantalizingly casts some doubt on the *nomen* of the prefect Sanctus, which has been through so many vicissitudes and was thought to have been settled by a recently published inscription; see 1 n.

- Τίτωι Τα[.]. Κάγκτωι ἐπάρχῳ Αἰγύπτου
 παρὰ Διον[υ]σίου Ἀμυντιανοῦ ἀπολυθέν-
 τος ἐξ ἱπ[πέ]ων εἵλης Ἀπριανῆς. ἐξ ἐν-
 κελεύσεως Πακτουμηΐου Μάγνου τοῦ
 5 ἡγεμονεύσαντος καὶ τοῦ κρατίστου στρα-
 τοπεδάρχου Κομινίου Ἀττικ[ο]ῦ παρε-
 κόμισα ἐνθάδε ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὁξ[υρ]υγχίτου
 νομοῦ ἕκ διαπομπῆς τοῦ στρατηγοῦ εἰ[ς] χρεΐας λεγεῶνος δευτέρας
 Τραϊανῆς Ἰσχυρᾶς λώδικας ἀριθμῶ
 10 ἐπτακ[ο]σία[ς] ἑβδομήκοντα πέντε.
 εἰ[ς] οὖν ἤδη τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέ-
 ρας καὶ πρὸ[ς] ἐνθάδε παρακατεσχέ-
 θην καὶ οὐδέπω ἡ παράλημψις
 αὐτῶν ἐγένετο ὥς καὶ λειφθῆναί με
 15 καὶ τοὺς σὺν ἐμοὶ ταῖς τροφαῖς, ἀξιῶ
 σε, εἴαν σου τῇ τύχῃ δόξῃ, κελεῦσαι
 ὅταν δοκιμάσης παραλαβεῖν ταύ-
 [τα]ς πρὸς τὸ δύνασθαι καὶ μέ, τοῦ
 καιροῦ τῆς κατασπορᾶς ἐνστάντος,
 20 εἰς [τ]ὴν ἰ[δ]ίαν ἀποχωρῆσαι ἢ ὡ ἐν-
 ερ[γ]ετημένος. διευτύχι. Διονύσιος
 Ἀμυντι[αν]οῦ ἐπιδέδωκε[α.]

'To Titus Ta... Sanctus, prefect of Egypt, from Dionysius Amyntianus, discharged from the cavalrymen of the *ala Apriana*.

'In compliance with the orders of Pactumeius Magnus, ex-prefect, and his Excellency the *praefectus castrorum*, Cominius Atticus, I transported here from the Oxyrhynchite nome for the uses of the *legio*

II Traiana Fortis blankets to the number of 775 sent by the strategus. Therefore, since I have been detained here already forty days and more and the transfer of the blankets has not yet taken place, so that I and those with me are short of the means of subsistence, I beg you, if it please your *genius*, to give orders, when you think fit, to take delivery of the blankets, so that I too, now that the time for sowing is at hand, may return to my home, in order that I may receive relief. Farewell. I, Dionysius Amyntianus, submitted the petition.'

1 *Ta*[.]. Before the gap the traces consist of a dot from the foot of a letter and at a level well above the line a horizontal with short uprights apparently rising from either end and leaning inwards slightly. The papyrus is broken away along the under side of the horizontal. After the gap there is a mere dot from the top of a letter.

The publication of an inscription from Rome by L. Moretti gave this prefect's name as T·AIO·SANCTO (*Riv. Fil.* 88 (1960), pp. 68 seqq. = AE 1961, No. 280). Here the *nomen* begins *Ta* and is complicated by the remains above the damaged third letter. Thanks to a series of splendid photographs of the Roman inscription made and given to me by Mr. Martin Frederiksen of Worcester College, Oxford, I know that there can be no doubt of the letters of Sanctus' name there or any possibility that the first line of the inscription was preceded by something more. There is, however, some doubt whether there ever was any dot between the first T and the following A and there is no appreciable extra space between them as there is before SANCTO. One possibility therefore is that the *nomen* was one hitherto unknown, Taius, given on the stone without a *praenomen* and that we should read *Taī*[ω] here. After much consideration and hesitation I am inclined to think that this is correct and that the remains above the line consist of the top of *iota*—the second upright—and part of an elaborated or a botched diaeresis, even though it does not look like the other diaereses in the document. The last letter of *ἐπαρχῶ* is also extremely oddly written. It is far too small for the normal *omega*, but it is difficult to decide whether it is the small circle used as an abbreviation sign or an *omega* badly made.

In the only other papyrus certainly naming this prefect the *nomen* is lost except for the final *omega* (635). His name is restored in P. Lond. 384 4 = Ch. L.A. iii 201 = Daris, *Documenti per la storia dell'esercito*, No. 106, but the date of that document is disputed, see *JRS* lvi (1966), p. 255.

An official called Sanctus has appeared also in P. Zill. 3 (Tafel III). His *nomen* was published as [Μι]νίκιος, with a reference to the *procurator metallorum* of the same name in ILS 8718 (A.D. 132). Moretti claimed this document for our prefect without giving a revised reading. Pflaum (*Les Carrières*, pp. 1002–7) maintained that the traces should be read *M*[ω]τ[κ]ιος and referred to the procurator of D. 8718. Dr. W. Müller kindly supplied me with a new photograph of the document but I find myself still unable to read it with any confidence. On the one hand there are remains which strongly suggest the *nu* which fits Minicius and no version of our man's name; on the other there seems to be a diaeresis on the *iota* before the ending -ος, which hardly suits Minicius.

2 Διονυσίου Ἀμυντιανοῦ. Cf. 1534 13, where the names are reversed and indexed as Ἀμυντιανός, s. of Dionysius.

3 Ἀπριανῆς. See Lesquier, *L'Armée*, p. 73.

5 στρατοπεδάρχου. For the *praefectus castrorum Aegypti* see Domaszewski, *Rangordnung*², pp. 120–2, xxxii–xxxiv.

6 Κομνίου Ἀττικ[ο]ῦ. He is new and may or may not be related to L. Cominius Maximus, *praefectus leg. II Troianae* [sic] *Fortis*, who is roughly contemporary, cf. Pflaum, *Les Carrières*, pp. 513–14 (No. 189).

9 Τραιανῆς Ἰσχυράς. See Lesquier, *L'Armée*, pp. 64–71.

19 καιροῦ τῆς κατασποράς. According to Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, pp. 139–40, seed corn was issued at Oxyrhynchus from Mesore—say August—to Choiak—say December.

21 The 'signature' is in the same hand as the body of the text. There seems to be no official subscription, though there might be room for a very short one in the damaged left half of the bottom margin. These things suggest that the document was a copy, perhaps a mere draft in view of the supralinear addition in line 8.

2761. DECLARATION OF DEATH

8.7 × 10.6 cm.

A.D. 161-79

A notification to the scribe of the city from a woman that her brother, a hair-dresser, is dead. The woman gives her father a Roman name, but it is not certain that he is to be regarded as a Roman citizen (2 n.).

'Ρεμμίω Ἀγαθάρχ[ω] γρα(μματεῖ) πόλ'(εως)
 παρ[ἀ . . .]ης τῆς Μ[ά]ρκου τοῦ Μάρκου μητρὸς
 Καλλ[ι]όπης ἀπ' Ὀξυρύνχων πόλεως μετὰ κυρί-
 ου τ[οῦ] υἱοῦ Π[ε]κ[ύ]σιος Χάρμου τοῦ Πεκύσιος
 5 ἀπ[ὸ] τῆς αὐτῆς πόλ[εως]. Ὁ ὁμογνήσιός μου
 ἀδελ[φ]ὸς Ἀς . . . κτεν[ι]στῆς ἀναγραφό-
 μενος ἐπ' ἀμ[φ]όδου Λυκίων Παρεμβο-
 λῆ[ς] ἐτε[λ]εύτ[η]σεν ἔτι πά[ρ]αι. διὸ ἀξιῶ
 ἀνα[γ]ραφῆναι αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ [τ]ῶν ὁ-
 10 μοίων τάξει ὡς καθήκει κα[ὶ] ὁμνύω
 τὴν τῶν κυρίων Αὐτ[ο]κρατόρων
 Ἀντωνίνο[υ] καὶ Οὐλήρου τύχην
 μὴ <ἐ>ψεῦσθ[αι]. (ἔτους) . . . Αὐτο[κ]ράτορος
 Καίσαρ[ος Μάρκ]ου [Αὐρηλίου] [Ἀντω-]
 [νίου] . . .

'To Remmius Agatharchus scribe of the city from . . . daughter of Marcus son of Marcus her mother being Calliope from the city of the Oxyrhynchi having as guardian her son Pekysis son of Charmos son of Pekysis from the same city. My full brother As. . .s, hairdresser, registered in the square of the camp of the Lycians died just recently. Wherefore, I request that his name be inserted (in the list of those) in the same category according to what is fitting, and I swear by the fortune of the Emperors Antoninus and Verus the lords that I speak the truth. (Year . . .) of the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus . . .'

1 'Ρεμμίω Ἀγαθάρχ[ω] γρα(μματεῖ) πόλ'(εως): 'Ρέμμιος is not attested in documentary papyri before. The name may be for 'Ράμμιος (cf. 1023 6, 1547 4).

2 The name of the father of the lady is a Roman one. He is also the father of the deceased person since the lady describes him as ὁμογνήσιος ἀδελφός. The notification of death to the local authorities and the fact that he is κτενιστής throws doubt on the probability that the deceased is a Roman citizen. Cf. καὶ τὰ τῆς Ἡρακλείας τέκνα Καβεῖνον Καβεῖνου τοῦ Κρονίωνος λαογρα(φούμενον) κτενιστ(ήν) in P. Tebt. 322, 22, A.D. 189, where the λαογραφούμενος has a Roman name but is surely not a Roman citizen.

In 2761 there are two possibilities: either the father is Roman by nationality and then the sons are of mixed marriage (cf. P. Lond. iii 1164, p. 161, 4 seqq., A.D. 212; P. Tebt. 385, A.D. ii; *Gnomon* §§ 52 seqq.); or the father is not a Roman citizen and the Roman name does not necessarily mean Roman nationality—as in the case of Γαῖος Ἰούλιος Διόδωρος and Γαῖος Ἰούλιος Πτολεμαῖος (P. Mich. 223, 430-1, A.D. 171-2), who pay the λαογραφία (cf. Iza-Biezunska-Malowist, *Proceed. of the IXth Intern.*

Congr. of Papyrology, p. 278). O. Montevecchi, *Rendiconti dell'Istituto Lombardo di scienze e lettere*, lxxxiv (1951), pp. 279–88, finds that a double or triple Roman name does not prove that the person is Roman.

The lady is not Roman since her guardian is not Roman, nor does he enjoy any special position such as citizenship of Antinoë (cf. Boak, *JEA* xviii 69 on P. Mich. inv. 2922, A.D. 172–3). Therefore, she and her son and her husband and the deceased brother are not Romans and are subject to the *λαογραφία*.

2762. CENSUS RETURN

9 × 10 cm.

A.D. 188/9

The names of the prefect and the ex-prefect according to whose instructions this return was submitted to the strategus are here preserved beyond doubt. They are Tineius Demetrius and Aurelius Verianus. Two other less well-preserved papyri contain formulae of a similar kind and the misreading of one of them has led to an error in the list of prefects. P. Harris 71 was reported to have only the name of M. Aurelius Papirius Dionysius, known from an inscription (*IGRR* I 135) to have been prefect of Egypt. The text of that papyrus was improved in P. Lugd. Bat. v, p. 55 to read κα[τὰ τὰ] κε[λευσθέντα] ὑπὸ Τιν[ε]ίου Δημητρί[ου] τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ἡγεμ[ό]νου [καὶ] | Δ[ιονυσίου Παπι]ρίου τοῦ ἡγε[μ]ονεύσαντος, but this was read from a photograph and is still only partly correct. An inspection of the badly abraded original, kindly sent to Oxford by the Selly Oak Colleges, left me with no doubt that the text was substantially the same as that of 2762, i.e. κατ[ὰ τὰ] κε[λευσθ] ὑπὸ Τιν[η]ίου Δημητρί[ου] τοῦ λαμπροτά- [του] ἡγεμ[ό]νου [καὶ] | Αὐρηλίου Οὐρηριαν[οῦ] τοῦ ἡγεμ[ό]νου.

Another related document, P. Princ. 129, is part of a τόμος συγκολλήσιμος of returns for the census of the same year. The published second column refers to Tineius Demetrius only, but the fragmentary first column was said to have the name Aurelius at this point. The editor referred it to Dionysius, but 2762 and P. Harris 71, as revised above, seemed to make it virtually certain that Verianus was meant. Inspecting the original I found that the text of i 3–10 ran: κατ[ὰ τὰ] κε[λευσθ] | [ὑπὸ Τινη]ίου Δημητρί[ου] [του] λαμ[β] ἡγεμόνος | [καὶ Αὐρηλίου Οὐρηριανου] | [του ἡγε]μονεύσαντος | [ἀπογραφ] πρὸς τὴν του | [διελθ] κη[ρ] Αὐρηλίου | [Κομμό]δου Ἀντωνίνου.

Returns for this census referring to Aurelius Verianus only are PSI 1227 and 1110, where the published text (6 seq.) ὑπὸ Αὐρηλίου Παπιρίου | [Διονυσίου του] κρατί[του] has been corrected to ὑπὸ Αὐρηλίου Οὐρηριανου | [του λαμπροτά]του, see BL iii 134 and *Aegyptus* xix (1939), p. 223.

This means that there is no mention of M. Aurelius Papirius Dionysius in the papyri so far. It is also natural to assume that Demetrius was the direct successor of Verianus, though see *BASP* v, p. 106.

Another very similar document is now published as number 2800.

Ἡράμμωνι τῷ καὶ Κάστορι στρατηγῷ

παρὰ Ἀπολλωνίου Διοσκόρου τοῦ Ἀπολ-
λωνίου μητρ(ρὸς) Μειθοῦτος ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων
πόλεως· κατὰ τὰ κελευσθέντα ὑπὸ Τι-
5 νηΐου Δημητρίου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου
ἡγεμόνος καὶ Αὐρηλίου Οὐρηριανοῦ τοῦ
ἡγεμονεύσαντος ἀπογραφ(άφομαι) πρὸς τὴν τοῦ
διελθόντος κη (ἔτους) Αὐρηλίου Κομμόδου
Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου κατ' οἰ-
10 κίαν ἀπογραφ(αφήν) τὴν ὑπάρχουσάν μοι κληρο-
νομικῶ δικαίῳ (πρότερον) τῆς μετελλαχί-
νης μου κατὰ μητ[έ]ρα μου μάμμης
Ἀμμωνίας Ἀπ[
.....].νεχθεντ[
15].μενητοι.[
.....].γραφην[
.....].ρανομ[
.....]...[

1 στρατ pap.
pap.

3 μητ pap.

7 απογραφ pap.

8 κη pap.

10 απογραφ pap.

11 α'

'To Herammon alias Castor, strategus, from Apollonius, son of Dioscorus, grandson of Apollonius, whose mother is Meithous, from the city of the Oxyrhynchi. According to the instructions given by Tineius Demetrius, the most glorious prefect, and Aurelius Verianus, the ex-prefect, I register for the house by house census of the past 28th year of Aurelius Commodus Antoninus Caesar, the lord, the (house) belonging to me by right of inheritance, formerly belonging to my deceased maternal grandmother Ammonia, daughter of Ap....'

1 The strategus is new.

8 κη (ἔτους) = A.D. 187/8. The date of the return is therefore A.D. 188/9.

2763. DEED OF SURETY FOR PHYLARCH

16.6 × 8 cm.

A.D. 253/4

Aurelius Theon and Aurelius Thonis, who are perhaps the heads of quarters of the city (cf. Wegener, 'Notes on the *φυλαί* of the metropoleis', in *Actes Oxford*, pp. 512 seqq.), give to Aurelius Posidonius the strategus of Oxyrhynchus a sworn declaration that they guarantee the person whom they introduced to carry out the liturgy as phylarch.

Aurelius Heras (ll. 12-13) may be the same person as Aurelius Heras, 'phylarch of the coming fourth year', in 1119 2 (the date has been reinterpreted by P. Mertens,

Les Services de l'état civil, p. 27, as August A.D. 253). The 'coming fourth year' of the Galli and the first year of Valerian and Gallienus are different descriptions for the period 253/4. But if the Heras of these documents is identical the present appointment of Heras is not in response to the notification (1187) of the strategus Posidonius to members of the amphoda to choose a phylarch, which is dated 20 June, A.D. 254. On the phylarchy see Mertens, l.c., pp. 16 seqq., P. Parsons, *JRS* lvii (1967), pp. 135-6; 2664 13 n.; and 2764 8-10.

On these guarantees see F. la Roas, 'L'ἐγγυητής della Παράστασις', *JJP* xiii (1961), pp. 67 seqq.

Αὐρηλίῳ Ποσιδωνίῳ (ω) στρ(ατηγῶ) Ὀξυ-
 ρυγχείτου
 Αὐρήλιοι Θεών ὁ καὶ Ἀμμώ-
 νιος Εὐδαίμονος μητρὸς Ἀπολλω-
 νίας καὶ Θώνις Θώνιος μητρὸς
 5 Διογενίδος ἀμφοτέρω ἀπ' Ὀξυ-
 ρύγχων πόλεως. ὁμνύομεν
 τὴν τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Πουπλ[ίω]ν Λικιννίου
 Ὀυαλεριαν[οῦ] καὶ Γαλλιην[οῦ] [καيسάρων] Ὑβραστών
 10 Εὐσεβῶν [Εὐτυχῶν(?)] τύχην ἐκουσίως
 καὶ αὐθαιρέτ[ω]ς ἐγγυᾶσθαι
 Αὐρήλιον Ἡρᾶν Διογένους
 φύλαρχον ὃν καὶ παρα-
 στήσομεν ὁπόταν ἐπιζητη-
 15 θῇ ἢ ἔνοχοι εἴημεν
 τῷ ὅρκῳ.
 (ἔτους) α Αὐτοκρατόρων καيسάρων
 Πουπλίου Λικιννίου.

'To Aurelius Posidonius strategus of Oxyrhynchus, Aurelius Theon alias Ammonius, son of Eudaemon his mother being Apollonia, and Aurelius Thonis, son of Thonis his mother being Diogenis, both from the city of the Oxyrhynchi. We swear by the fortune of our lords Publius Licinius Valerianus and Publius Gallienus Caesars Maximi Pii Felices to guarantee, of our own free will and choice, Aurelius Heras son of Diogenes as phylarch, whom we will also produce when he is asked for, otherwise we are to be liable to the consequences of the oath. The first year of the Emperors Caesars Publius Licinius.'

1 Αὐρήλιος Ποσιδώνιος is known as strategus in 1187 1, A.D. 254.

7-10 This part is damaged and not easy to read. The scribe seems to be unfamiliar with the formula of the oath and inserts the missing parts between the lines. The fact that this is the first year of a new reign may account for his unfamiliarity.

8 Πουπλ[ίω]ν: the restoration of the word in this form has no evidence to attest it. The beginning and the end of the word are certain.

9 The parts inserted are not clear. The reading suggested depends on W.O. 1473, 2, A.D. 254-5.

10-11 The letters are badly scratched besides the damage. In restoring this part I have used 1554, 1555, and P. Preis. 13-17.

12 Αὐρήλιος Ἡρᾶς Διογένους: he may be Aurelius Heras of 1119 2, cf. introd.

14 The letters are not quite clear in the second half of the line. ὁπότ<ε> ἐ>ὰν ἐπιζητηθῇ may be read, cf. JJP xiii (1961), p. 71.

17-18 The same date, if the reading is right, with another formula is in 1187 21-8.

2764. OATH OF A CLERK IN THE BUREAU OF A STRATEGUS

Copy C 6.1 × 29.1 cm.

19 July A.D. 277

The text of this papyrus exists in three copies which differ in handwriting, spelling, and preservation. The text given below follows the best written copy (C) and reference is given to the others (A and B) only if they present different readings. Copies A and B are complete except for some holes, copy C is broken at the top and starts with the letters -σιος in l. 5. Copy A contains an official entry at the beginning which might also have been in the missing part of copy C. A comparison of the subscriptions shows that copy B was written by Aurelius Pekysis himself. Only the signature of his surety was added by a scribe, Aurelius Sarapion. Copy C was made by a professional scribe, to which the signatures were contributed by Aurelius Pekysis for himself and by Aurelius Sarapion for the surety. Copy A was written by four or five hands, l. 1 or ll. 1-3 by one hand or two, by which also l. 13 of copy A (Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Πρόβου) and the date (ἔτους β-᾽Επειφ κε) were written. These lines seem to have been added to the previously written text. The signatures of copy A are done in the same way as in the other copies, Pekysis wrote for himself and Sarapion wrote for the surety.

The text of the papyrus follows the usual pattern for the oath which everybody had to take when he entered upon a duty. Cf., e.g., 1197 (A.D. 211), 1196 (211/12), 1553 (214), 2120 (221), 972 (223), 1455 (275), 82 (A.D. iii), and 2765 (304). The office involved is similar to that of 82, which cannot any longer be regarded as the oath of a future strategus, and of 2765. Cf. the commentary on l. 11 for this matter. Lines 1-5 up to Πεκυ- are taken from copy A.

ὕ(π) στρ(ατηγίας) τοῦ ἱσιόν(τος) γ (ἔτους)

Α[ὐ]ρηλίω Ἡρακλείω

τῷ κ]αὶ Ἑρμῖα στρ(ατηγῶ) Ὁξ(υρυγχείτου).

Αὐρήλιος Πεκῦσις Ἀπίω-

5 ὕ[ο]ς τοῦ Πεκύσιος μητρὸς Θα[μουίδος

ἀπὸ τῆς λαμ(πρᾶς) καὶ λ[αμπρο-

- τάτης Ὀξυρυχειτῶν πόλεως
 ἀναδοθείς ὑπὸ τοῦ
 τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως φυλάρ-
 10 χου τοῦ ἱσιόντος γ (ἔτους) εἰς
 ὑπηρεσίαν τῆς στρατηγίας
 ὁμνύω τὴν τοῦ κυρίου
 ἡμῶν Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου
 Πρόβου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ
 15 τύχην ἀντιλήμψεσθαι
 τῆς δηλουμένης ὑπηρε-
 σίας καὶ ἐκτελέσειν ταύτην
 ἐνφανῆς ὦν ὑγιῶς
 καὶ πιστῶς καὶ προσκαρτε-
 20 ρῶν τῇ στρατηγίᾳ ἀδια-
 λείπτως εἰς τὸ ἐν μηδε-
 νὶ μεμφθῆναι ἢ ἔνοχος
 εἶην τῷ ὄρκῳ. παρέσχον
 δὲ [ἐ]μ[α]ν[το]ῦ [ἐ]γγνη[τὴν Αὐρή-
 25 λιον Σεραπάμωνα
 Πολέμωνος μητρὸς
 Ἑρακλείας ἀπὸ τῆς [α]ὐτῆς
 πόλεως παρόντα καὶ εὐ-
 δοκοῦντα. (ἔτους) β' Αὐτοκράτορος
 30 Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου
 Πρόβου Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς
 Σεβαστοῦ Ἐπεὶφ κε.
 (2nd hand) Αὐρήλιος Πεκῦσις
 ὥμοσα τὸν ὄρκον
 35 καὶ ἐκτελέσω τὴν
 χρεῖαν ὡς πρόκειται.
 (3rd hand) Αὐρ(ήλιος) Σεραπάμων [ὁμόσα
 τὸν ὄρκον ἐγγνώμ[αι
 τὸν Πεκῦσιν ὡς π(ρόκειται). Αὐ[ρ(ήλιος)
 40 Σεραπίων ἔγραψα ὑ(πέρ) αὐτ[οῦ
 μὴ ἐ[ἰδό]τος γράμματα.

1 l. εἰσιόντος 5 A: Θαμογίδος 10 l. εἰσιόντος 11 A: ὑπηρεσίαν τῆς εἰς στρατηγίας
 B: ὑπηρεσίαν στρατηγίας 12 A: ὁμνυμεν 16 B om. τῆς 17 A: -λέσει, B: -λέειν 18 l. ἐμ-
 φανής, A, B: ἐμ- 20 A: τῆς στρ(), B: τῆς στρατηγίας 21 A: -λιπ- A, B om. ἐν 22 B: -γαι
 A: ἦ, B: εἰ 24 A: ἐνγ- 26 B: Πολέμμωνος 30 A, B: Μάρκου B: Πρόβου Αὐρηλίου
 32 A, B: κῆ 37 l. Σαραπάμμων, A: -αμων, B: del.

‘Concerning . . . of the coming 3rd year. To Aurelius Heracleius also called Hermias, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome. I, Aurelius Pekysis, son of Apion, grandson of Pekysis, my mother being Thamouis from the illustrious and most illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchi, having been nominated by the phylarch of the same city of the coming 3rd year for service in the bureau of a strategus, swear by the fortune of our lord Marcus Aurelius Probus Caesar Augustus, that I shall take up the appointed duty and that I shall fulfil it, in person, honourably and faithfully and attending the bureau of the strategus continuously, that there may not be any complaint against me or else may I be liable to the consequences of the oath. I present as my surety Aurelius Sarapammon, son of Polemon and of Heracleia, from the same city, who is present and consenting. In the 2nd year of the emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Probus Pius Felix Augustus, Epeiph 25. I, Aurelius Pekysis, have sworn the oath and I shall fulfil the duty as said above. I, Aurelius Sarapammon, have sworn the oath, I give surety for Pekysis as said above. I, Aurelius Sarapion, wrote for him because he is illiterate.’

1 The abbreviations *στρ()* and *στρ()* can be resolved in two ways, either *ὑ(πὲρ) στρ(ατηγίας)* = concerning the bureau of a strategus, or in regard to l. 11 *ὑ(πηρεσία) στρ(ατηγίας)* = concerning service in the bureau of a strategus. Cf. commentary to l. 11 on the duty involved.

The forthcoming third year is 277/8.

2 This strategus is new.

4 Aurelius Pekysis is not otherwise known. The mother's name is only in A; for *ν*, *ν* might be read.

9 Cf. 2763 introd. on the phylarch.

11 The office involved presents some difficulties. It is referred to also in l. 16 *ἡ δηλουμένη ὑπηρεσία*, and l. 20 *προσκαρτερῶν τῇ στρατηγίᾳ*. The phrase of l. 20 is identical with one of 82 (A.D. iii). *Προσκαρτερῶν* is nowhere else used in connection with any office as far as I have been able to ascertain. Thus the phrase *προσκαρτερῶν τῇ στρατηγίᾳ* or rather the use of *προσκαρτερῶν* as remaining in or at an office was not very common and one may conclude that 82 and 2764 dealt with the same matter. 82 is preserved as a fragment only, but the remaining part clearly shows that it formed the bottom part of the oath sworn on taking over a duty. Indeed not only in regard to *προσκαρτερῶν τῇ στρατηγίᾳ* is 2764 identical with 82, but all extant phrases of 82 which are typical for such an oath agree with the corresponding lines of 2764.

Owing to the phrase *προσκαρτερῶν τῇ στρατηγίᾳ* 82 has been regarded as the oath of a strategus and this classification has led several times to discussions as to whether the office of a strategus was still an *ἀρχή* or already a *λειτουργία* or a similar post in the later Roman period. If one applies these theories on 82 to 2764, one has to conclude that Aurelius Pekysis was nominated as a strategus for 277/8, and this would necessitate several conclusions on the (leiturgic) character of the office of a strategus.

But there are two objections to such an assumption which will later have some relevance to the interpretation of 82 also. According to the list of strategi (cf. above) a strategus named Aurelius Harpocraton was in office in the same year for which Aurelius Pekysis was nominated and took the oath. Harpocraton is mentioned for Pharmouthi. Therefore one may conclude that Pekysis died before Pharmouthi 278 and that for some obscure reason his surety did not take over the duty and that Harpocraton was therefore installed as a strategus during the year 277/8. But this rather difficult conclusion should be accepted only if there is no other explanation. The second objection is to be found in the lines of 2764 in which Pekysis' office is mentioned (11 and 16). It is called a *ὑπηρεσία τῆς στρατηγίας* or simply *ὑπηρεσία*. This classification shows that Pekysis was nominated for any job in the bureau of a strategus, *στρατηγία* not standing for the strategus' job but for his bureau. Cf., besides Preis., *WB* iii 8 s.v. *στρατηγία*, on this use of *στρατηγία* also P. Cair. Isid. 66, 10 and 67, 13 (both 299);

2228 13 (? 283), and P. Panop. 1, 99 (298), of which the last two mention a ὑπηρέτης τῆς στρατηγίας (P. Oxy.) or someone ὑπηρέτης τὴν στρατηγίαν (P. Panop.); see also P. Leit. 5, 38 (c. 180), where a ὑπηρέτης is regarded as ὑπηρέτης τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, and 2764. It remains uncertain whether Pekysis was to become ὑπηρέτης τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, messenger of the strategus, which is the usual term for an assistant at that time, or whether he only had to become one of the many clerks working in the bureau of a strategus. Cf. H. Kupiszewski, J. Modrzejewski, 'ΥΠΗΡΕΤΑΙ', *JJP* xi-xii (1957/8), pp. 141-66 (a detailed discussion of ὑπηρέται of every kind in Greek and Roman Egypt), who point out (p. 144) that the great majority of the references to a ὑπηρέτης of the Roman period refer to the ὑπηρέτης τοῦ στρατηγοῦ. This one as well as any other worker in the bureau of a strategus was installed according to the usual procedure of liturgists and was liable to the oath, in which he had to swear that he would fulfil his duty, i.e. here προσκαρτερῶν τῇ στρατηγίᾳ. This brings us back to 82, which according to the above statements could not have been the oath of a future strategus, but should be regarded as the oath of any clerk in the bureau of a strategus. He was responsible for the delivery of messages concerning nominations to duties and was probably identical with the ὑπηρέτης τοῦ στρατηγοῦ who was usually responsible for the delivery of messages.

24 Aurelius Sarapammon is not otherwise known.

29 The year is 276/7.

2765. OATH ON UNDERTAKING SERVICE

10.7 × 19.5 cm.

19 December, A.D. 304

Two fragments which together form the bottom part of an oath. The lost upper part of the oath recorded the office, for which Aurelius Sarapiacus took the oath. The duty concerned was probably (2 n.) similar to that which occurs in 82 (A.D. iii) and 2764 (A.D. 277).

]. . [

ὑπ]ηρεσίαν <τοῦ> στρατηγοῦ τοῦ ἐν[εστῶτος
 κ (ἔτους) καὶ ἐννεακαὶ(δεκάτου) καὶ ιβ (ἔτους) ὁμνύω τὴν
 τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Αὐτοκρατόρων
 5 Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστ(ῶν)
 καὶ Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν
 ἐπιφανεστάτων Καيسάρων τύχην ἀν-
 τιλήμψεσθαι τῆς δηλοῦμένης
 ὑπηρεσίας καὶ ἐκτελέειν ταύτην ἐν-
 10 φανῆς ὡς ὑπακούων τοῖς ἐπιτα-
 σσόμενοις μοι ἀδιαλήπτ[τω]ς εἰς τὸ
 ἐν μηδενὶ μεμφθῆναι[ι] ἢ ἔν[ο]χο[ς]
 εἶ[η]ν τῷ θε[ῷ] [ὁ]ρῶν. πα[ρέ]χον δὲ

- [ἐμαυτοῦ ἐγγυητὴν Αὐρ(ήλιον) Ἀδραστον ἀπὸ]
 15 τῆς αὐτῆ[ς πόλεως πα]ρόντα καὶ εὐ[δο-
 κοῦντα.
 (ἔτους) κ καὶ (ἔτους) ἐννεακαὶ(δεκάτου) τῶν κυρίων [ἡμῶν
 Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιαν[οῦ] Σεβαστῶν καὶ
 (ἔτους) ιβ' τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου καὶ
 20 Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισάρων
 Χοιὰκ κγ.
 (2nd hand) Αὐρήλιος Σαραπιακὸς ὥμοσα τὸν ὄρκον.
 Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἀδραστος ἐγγυ(ῶμαι) αὐτ[ὸν] ὥς πρόκ(εῖται).
 Αὐρ(ήλιος) ἔγρ(αῖσα) ὑ(πέρ) α(ὐτῶν) μὴ
 εἰδ(ότων) γρ(άμματα).

2, 17 ἐννεακαὶ

9 l. ἐκτελέσειν

11 l. ἀδιαλείπτως

'... the 20th and the 19th and the 12th year. I swear on the fortune of our lords the emperors Diocletian and Maximian Augusti and Constantius and Maximian the most noble Caesars, that I shall hold the appointed duty and that I shall fulfil it in person, obedient to the orders given to me, continuously, that there may not be any complaint against me, or else may I be liable to the consequences of the divine oath. I presented as my surety Aurelius Adrastus of the same city who is present and consenting. In the 20th and 19th year of our lords Diocletian and Maximian Augusti and in the 12th year of our lords Constantius and Maximian the most noble Caesars, Choiak 23. I, Aurelius Sarapiacus, have sworn the oath. I, Aurelius Adrastus, give surety for him as aforesaid. I, Aurelius . . . , wrote for them because they are illiterate.'

2 ὑπ[ηρεσίαν] is read on the basis of the similarity of the traces to those in l. 9. If στρατηγοῦ is rightly read, Aurelius Sarapiacus is to be ὑπηρέτης τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, like Pekysis in 2764. It is not clear whether we should write ὑπ[ηρεσίαν <τοῦ> στρατηγοῦ in 2, supposing a scribal error, or not. If we write this, we make Sarapiacus assistant to the strategus actually in office; without the article he may be supposed simply to be undertaking in the current year the duty of assistant to the strategus. Normally in these undertakings the obligation is for the coming, not the present, year. As a strategus was usually in office for 3 years Sarapiacus might have become ὑπηρέτης for the second or third year of the strategus who was in office in 304/5.

The beginning of this document might have run: . . . στρατηγῶ τοῦ Ὁξυρυγχίτου. ἀναδοθεὶς ὑπὸ . . . εἰς ² ὑπηρεσίαν <τοῦ> στρατηγοῦ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ³ κ (ἔτους) . . .

3 The regnal years are abbreviated in an uncommon way (cf. plate). Of the compound number 19 only the beginning 'nine' is written in letters, followed by the common shortened form of καὶ and by the sigle for ten. The same way of writing the number 19 occurs in l. 17. Cf. 2766 11 n.

13 seq. Cf. parallel oaths given in 2764 introd. on the general wording of an oath and l. 23 of this papyrus for the surety's name, both of which made the restoration of the missing portion possible.

2766. DECLARATION BY EPIMELETES

17.5 × 15.5 cm.

A.D. 305

Aurelius Tryphon who was appointed as epimeletes for the ἀνακομιδή of the annona militaris (cf. P. Preis. 13-14, 16-17, all A.D. iv; Oertel, *Liturgie*, p. 215) gives to the strategus Aurelius Horion a sworn declaration that he received from the granaries the wheat and the barley to transport to the Small Oasis. A similar declaration is 1261, of A.D. 325.

ἐπὶ ὑπάτων τῶν κυρί[ων] ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ

τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων καيسάρων τὸ ε.

Αὐρηλίῳ Ὡρίωνι στρατηγῷ Ὁξυρυγχείτου

παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Τρύφωνος Θωνίου ἐξηγ(ητεύσαντος) βου(λευτοῦ) τῆς λαμ(πρᾶς) καὶ
λαμπ(ροτάτης) Ὁξ(υρυγχειτῶν) πόλε-

5 ως ἐπιμελητοῦ ciτοκρίθου ἀνακομιζομένου ἐπὶ τὴν Μικρὰν

Ῥοαίν. ὁμνύω τὴν τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Αὐτοκρατόρων

Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ [ε]βαστῶν καὶ Κωνσταντίου καὶ

Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων καيسάρων τύχην παρειλη-

φέναι παρὰ μὲν Αὐρηλίων Σεβίνου καὶ τῶν κοινωνῶν ἀποδε-

10 κτῶν καὶ ἐπισφραγιστῶν θησαυρῶν κόμης Κερκεύρων τῆς μέσης

τοπ(αρχίας) τοῦ Ὁξ(υρυγχείτου) νομοῦ ἀπὸ γενήμα(τος) ἐννεακαιδεκάτου καὶ ιη
(ἔτους) καὶ ια (ἔτους) πυροῦ

καθαρωτάτου μέτρῳ δημοσίῳ ἀρτάβας τριακοσίας γ(ίνονται) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι)
τ, παρὰ

δὲ Αὐρηλίων Κιαρούριος καὶ Λούτεως καὶ τῶν κοινωνῶν ἀποδεκτῶν

καὶ ἐπισφραγιστῶν θησαυρῶν Ὁξ(υρυγχειτῶν) πόλεως ἀπὸ ἀμ(φόδου) Ψέως

15 σίτου γενήμα(τος) τοῦ διελθόντος κ (ἔτους) <ιθ> (ἔτους) καὶ ιβ (ἔτους) κ[ρ]ιθῆς
καθαρωτάτης

ὁμοίως μέτρῳ δημοσίῳ ἀρτάβας ἑκατὸν πενήτηκοντα

γ(ίνονται) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβαι) ρν ὅμπερ ciτόκριθον ἀνενέγκω ἐπὶ τὴν Μικρὰν
Ῥοαίν

[καὶ π]α[ρα]δῶσω τοῖς ἐκεῖσαι ἀποδέκταις ἀριθμῷ πλήρη καὶ

[τῆς παρ]αδόσεως ἀποχὰ γράμμα[τα ἐποίησ]εν, εἰς τὸ

20 [ἐν μηδενὶ μεμφθῆ]ναι ἢ ἔνοχος εἶ[ν]ην τῷ θεῷ ὅρκῳ

[.].

18 l. ἐκεῖσε

'In the consulship of our lords Constantius and Maximian, most renowned Caesars, for the fifth time. To Aurelius Horion, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelius Tryphon son of

Thonius, ex-exegetes, senator of the illustrious and most illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites and superintendent of the wheat and barley under transport to the Small Oasis. I swear by the fortune of our lords the Emperors Diocletian and Maximian Augusti and Constantius and Galerius, most renowned Caesars, that I have received from, on one hand, Aurelius Sabinus and his partners, receivers and sealers of the granaries of the village of Kerkeura of the middle toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite nome, three hundred artabae, which are 300, of the cleanest wheat and measured by the public measure, of the production of the 19th (year) and 18th (year) and 11th (year) and on the other hand, from Aurelius Kiarouris and Aurelius Louteus and his partners, receivers and sealers of the granaries of the city of the Oxyrhynchites from the quarter of Pses, 150 artabae of grain, which are 150 artabae, of the cleanest barley and measured by the public measure from the production of the past 20th, <19th>, and 12th (year), which wheat and barley I shall transport to the Small Oasis and give to the receivers there complete in total and shall produce the receipts of delivery, without giving any cause for complaint, otherwise may I be liable to the penalties of the divine oath . . .'

1-2 The same formula is in 859 1.

3 The strategus of Oxyrhynchus in A.D. 305 was not previously known.

5 *σιτόκριθον* is not a mixture (cf. 1253 15 n., A.D. iv). Cf. R. Browning, 'Medieval and Modern Greek' 71.

ἀνακομιζομένου ἐπὶ τὴν Μικρὰν Ὀάσιν: it seems that the requisitions were for the soldiers stationed in the Small Oasis (cf. Lesquier *L'Armée rom.*, pp. 412 seq.; Wallace, *Taxation*, pp. 315 seq.).

11 The date is given by the 19th year of the reign of Diocletian. The scribe wrote '19th year' in letters and the years *ιη* (ἔτους) *καὶ ια* (ἔτους) in figures (cf. Mich. Ostr. 503, 4; 504, 7). Cf. 2765 3 n.

15 The omission of *ιθ* is probably a mere error.

18-20 This part may be restored from 1261 10-11; 1115 9; P. Thead. 28, 9 = P. Cair. Preis. 13, 12-13; 14, 13, all late A.D. iii-early iv.

2767. OATH CONCERNING CARE FOR TREES

26.6 × 9 cm.

29 March, A.D. 323

Horigenes son of Cornelius, Kalamois the shoemaker, and the other *μέτοχοι* give a sworn declaration to Dioscourides the logistes that they will undertake to care for and irrigate the persea tree and the *περιβολή* which were near their houses.

This document emphasizes that the Roman administration continued the Ptolemaic rules of planting and care of trees as shown in P. Tebt. iii 703, 191-211, late iii B.C. It is made quite clear that compulsion was applied (ll. 12-13) in planting trees in the city streets. Planting and care of trees were done by contractors both in the Ptolemaic (cf. Rostovtzeff, *Soc. and Econ. Hist. of the Hell. World*, pp. 298 seqq.) and in the Roman periods.

τοῖς ἀποδιχθησομένοις ὑπάτοις τὸ γ.
 Διοσκουρίδῃ λογιστῇ Ὁξυρυγχείτου
 παρὰ Ὁριγένους Κορνηλίου
 καὶ Καλαμόϊτος σκυτέως

- 5 καὶ τῶν μετόχων πάντων
ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως. ὁμολο-
γοῦμεν ὁμνύντες τὸν σεβάσμιον(ν)
θεῖον ὄρκον τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶ(ν)
ἀνεικήτων βασιλέων πᾶσαν
10 ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ ὑπηρεσίαν
καὶ τοὺς συνήθεις ποτισμοὺς
ἀδιαλείπτως ἐπάναγκες
ποιήσασθαι τῆς ἐκ μίζο-
νος προστάξεως νεωσθὶ
15 κατατεθείσης περσίας πρὸς
τοῖς ἡμετέροις οἴκοις ἐπὶ τοῦ
δρόμου Ψὲς πρὸς τὸ ζωογονεῖ(ν)
καὶ εὐθαλεῖν διὰ παντός, ἔτι τε
καὶ τὴν τήρησιν καὶ παραφυλακὴ(ν)
20 τῆς περιβολῆς τῆς ἀν[αδρ]ομῆς (?)
τῆς αὐτῆς περσίας ποιή[σασθ]αι
εἰς τὸ μηδεμίαν μέμψιν ἔπα-
κολουθήσιν ἢ ἔνοχοι εἴημεν τῷ θείῳ
ὄρκῳ. ὑπατεία τῇ προκ(ειμένη) Φαρμουῦθι γ.
25 (2nd hand) Ὠριγένης καὶ Καλαμόϊς ὠμάσα-
μεν τὸν θῖον ὄρκον ὡς πρόκι-
ται. ὁ αὐτὸς Ὠριγένης ἔγραψα
ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἄλ(λ)ου μὴ εἰδότος γράμ-
ματα.
30 (3rd hand) δρόμον Ψαῖς νοτίνης
[π]λευρᾶς ἀπὸ οἰκ() .[
[.]ους οἰν.πραγ() ε. .[
[ῆ] πξρ(σία) θ'

1 l. ἀποδειχθησομένοις 9 l. ἀνικήτων 10 l. ἐπιμέλειαν 12 l. ἀδιαλείπτως 13 l. μείζονος
14 l. νεωστί 15 (21) l. περσεάς 22, 23 l. ἐπακολουθήσειν 25 l. ὠμόσαμεν 26 l. θεῖον, πρόκειται
30 l. Ψέε

'In the time of the consuls to be designated for the third time. To Dioscourides logistes of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Horigenes son of Cornelius, from Kalamois the shoemaker and their partners, all of this same city. We agree, swearing the august divine oath by our lords the unconquered kings, that we shall take every care of and do every service to and regularly irrigate the persea tree, which has been lately planted by order of higher authority in front of our houses on the Psēs' road, for

it to propagate and to grow always. In addition we undertake to watch and safeguard the space around this same persea tree in a way that will allow no censure, otherwise may we incur the consequence of the divine oath. 3rd Pharmouthi of the aforesaid consulship. (2nd hand) We, Horigenes and Kalamois, have sworn the divine oath as stated above, and I the same Horigenes have written for the other because he is illiterate. (3rd hand) Psēs' road on the south side from the property (?) of Horigenes, wine-. . . The persea tree, 9th.'

¹ On the significance of the dating see E. W. Kase, *P. Princeton Roll* 32 seqq., P. Cair. Isid. 78, P. Merton ii 92, 25, and **2771** 1.

² Διοσκουρίδης λογιστής is the same as Ουαλέριος Διοσκουρίδης in **42** and **900**, A.D. 322, and in **1509** (undated).

¹⁷ δρόμου Ψέε: the name Ψέε was used for a quarter: ἐπ' ἀμφόδου Ψέε ὑπ[ὸ τ]ῇ νωτίν[η]ν δημοσίαν εἰσοάν **1966** 12; but it was also used to indicate the name of a street, as in πρ(ὸς) τῇ πύλῃ τοῦ Ψέε **43** verso iv. 1; cf. H. Rink, *Strassen und Viertelnamen von Oxyrhynchus*, p. 49.

ζωογονεῖν [κα]ὶ εὐθαλεῖν διὰ παντός: the verb ζωογονέω is also written ζωγονέω in the papyri (cf. **1188** 21, 33 nn., A.D. 13). It means here 'to propagate', cf. Thphr. *CP* 3, 22, 3; id., *HP* 8, 11, 2. It is clear that the Roman administration cared for the multiplication of trees (cf. D.S. i 88; Plut. 2, 494 c). See on ζωογονέω, O. Montevicchi, 'Lingua Graeca nella Settanta e nei papiri', *Actes du X^e Congr. Intern. de Papyr.*, p. 43. εὐθαλεῖν was suggested by Dr. John Shelton. An unpublished document of this kind addressed to the same logistes has the word at this point in the formula.

³¹⁻³ Additional texts of this kind being worked on by Dr. Shelton have helped in reaching the reading given. οἰκ() may be abbreviated for οἰκ(οπέδων) or οἰκ(ίας). A name is to be expected after it, then οἰκοπράτ(ου) is excluded because the last letter is not like τ. [π]λευρᾶς in 31 is not well attested in a geographical sense.

VI. PRIVATE DOCUMENTS

2768. SETTLEMENT BEFORE ARBITRATORS

25 × 11.8 cm.

Late third century

Settlement before arbitrators in which the parties are Harsiesis and Harsas sons of Petosiris on one side and Myronous also called Ptolema acting through her husband Theon on the other side. Myronous had presented her case before the archidicastes for the recovery of a property which previously belonged to Thompsemis. The nature of the property and the reason for the ἀνακομιδή are not clear. The text is a διάλυσις agreement, because it contains the formula καὶ μὴ ἐγκαλεῖν κτλ. (J. Modrzejewski, *JJP* vi (1951), p. 252), such dialysis being the fourth stage in the dispute.

The question whether Aurelius Achilleus the archidicastes (10-11) is to be identified with the *corrector* of the same name cannot be discussed here.

- μετοξὺ Ἀρσιήσιος καὶ Ἀρσᾶ ἀμφοτέρων
 Πετοσίριος καὶ Μυρωνοῦτος τῆς καὶ Πτολέ-
 μας διὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς Θέωνος, παρόντων Ἀπο[λ-]
 λωνίου Ἰσχυρίωνος ἐξηγητεύσα(ν)τος ἐνάρ-
 5 χου πομπαγωγοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν στεμμάτων
 καὶ Φανίας Σαρᾶ ἐνάρχου ἀρχιερέως
 ἀμφοτέρων βουλευτῶν τῆς Ὀξυρυγχε[ι-]
 τῶν πόλεως. ἐπὶ ἣ Μυρωνοῦς κατὰ στα-
 ςις πεποιήται πρὸς τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀρσιῆσιν
 10 καὶ Ἀρσᾶν ἐπὶ Αὐρηλίου Ἀχιλλέως ἐνάρ-
 χου ἀρχιδικαστοῦ περὶ ἧς [[δ]]ἔδωκεν ὁ πατήρ
 αὐτῆς ἀνακομιδῆς ὑπαρχόντων τῷ
 τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀρσιῆσιν καὶ Ἀρσᾶν
 ἀδελφῶ(ν) Θομψήμι(ν) ὄντι καὶ προ-
 15 κτήτορι, ἐνγραφείσης διαστολῆς ἐν
 τῇ ἀνακομιδῇ(ς) περὶ τοῦ τὴν Μυ-
 ρονο[υ]ν τελείαν γενομένην
 εὐδοκῆσιν τῇ ἀνακομιδῇ, καὶ περὶ
 τούτων ζητήσεως οὗσης παρὰ τῷ
 20 ἀρχιδικαστῇ· ἔδοξεν κοινῇ γνώμῃ
 παρόντων τῶν ἐνγεγραμμένων
 μεσεπιτῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δίκας μὴ ἔχειν

καὶ πραγμάτων ἀπαλλάχθαι ὥς-
 τε τὴν Μυρ[ω]νοῦν λαμβάνου-
 25 σαν παρὰ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀρσιῆσιν
 καὶ Ἀρσᾶν δι' αἱς} πεποιήται ἀν-
 αλώματα ἀργυρίου τ(άλαντον) α καὶ (δραχμάς) Ε',
 εὐδοκίῃ τῇ γενομένη εἰς τὸ(ν) τῶν
 περὶ τὸν Ἀρσιῆσιν καὶ Ἀρσᾶν ἀδελ-
 30 φὸν Θομφήμιν <ὄντα> καὶ προκτήτ[ορα]
 [ἀνα]κομιδῆς} καὶ μὴ ἐνκαλ[εῖν]
 [αὐτὴν] ἢ ἐφέλεψ[ε]σθαι μήτε αὐτῶ
 μήτε τοῖς παρ' [α]ὐτοῦ ὄντασιν-
 νοις, πρὸς τὸ εἶναι τὴν εἰς τοὺς
 35 περὶ τὸν Ἀρσιῆσιν καὶ Ἀρσᾶν παρα-
 χῶς} ρησιν κυρίαν [.]. . . ιη.[

1 l. μεταξύ (cf. Mayser, i 60 seq.) 6 Φανίας, l. Φανίου 8 l. ἐπεὶ, κατάστασιν 12 l. τῶ
 14 l. ἀδελφῶ, Θομφήμει (cf. Humbert, *La Disparition du datif*, pp. 163 seqq.) 18 l. εὐδοκίῃ
 22 l. μεσιτῶν 23 l. ἀπηλλάχθαι 27 f ē pap. 28 l. εὐδοκεῖν 32 l. ἐπελεύεσθαι (cf.
 Mayser, i 173 seq.) 33 l. ὀνησόμενοι

‘(Settlement) between Harsiesis and Harsas both sons of Petosiris on one side and Myronous also called Ptolema acting through her husband Theon on the other side, in the presence of Apollonius son of Ischyron ex-exegetes organizer of ceremonies in office and in charge of the stemmata, and Phantias son of Saras archiereus in office, both senators of the city of the Oxyrhynchites. Whereas Myronous has made her appearance before Aurelius Achilles archidicastes in office against Harsiesis and Harsas and their party about the recovery of the properties which her father delivered to Thompsemis brother of Harsiesis and Harsas, who was the previous owner; since the provisions written in the recovery are that Myronous, when she becomes of age, should agree on the recovery; and since there was a judicial investigation before the archidicastes: it seemed good by common consent in the presence of the said arbitrators to avoid a lawsuit and to settle the matters in hand on condition that Myronous takes from the family of Harsiesis and Harsas, on account of the expenses which she had one talent and 5,000 drachmae of silver, and agrees on the recovery which was made to Thompsemis brother of Harsiesis and Harsas, the previous owner, and that she neither accuses nor will take proceedings against him or against the purchasers from him and that the cession to Harsiesis and Harsas and their family is valid . . .’

3-5 Apollonius son of Ischyron is ἐναρχος πομπαγωγός. The exegetes is met acting as πομπαγωγός, in P. Brux. inv. E. 7910, 2, A.D. iii = SB 9161, P. Erlang, 31 = SB 9162, A.D. iii (cf. Bingen, *Chr. d'Ég.* lxi (1956), p. 111). P. Mertens (*Les services de l'état civil*, p. 152) restores PSI 457 (intr., and Jouguet, *La vie municipale*, pp. 315 seqq.), A.D. 276, as <ἐ>ξηγ() ἐνάρχ(ω) πομ(παγωγῶ) by analogy with P. Brux. inv. E. 7910, justifiable because of the close relation between the exegetes and the epicrisis. In the four¹ papyrus examples of the word πομπαγωγός, there is no clear evidence of his precise function. In A.D. ii, a talent mentioned in an account ὑπὲρ τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἐξηγητεῖαν πομπαγωγίας (2127 6) indicates the connection of the exegetes with these processions.

¹ Add now BGU 2118 4.

Ἀπολλώνιος Ἰσχυρίωνος: the name of the father and that of the son have not occurred before together. Professor P. Mertens of the University of Liège has kindly suggested by letter some places where an Ἀπολλώνιος is mentioned and contemporary to Apollonius son of Ischyriion of 2768. (1) PSI 74, 10, A.D. iii, ex-agoranomos and senator. (2) P. Harris 75, 3, A.D. iii (?), ex-exegetes, senator, and keeper of the Archives. (3) 59. 5, A.D. 292, ex-hypomnematographus and strategus.

4-6 ἐξηγητεύσας . . . ἀρχιερεύς: the exegetes dealt with juristic cases at Alexandria (Jouguet, l.c., pp. 198, 200) as well as in the metropolis (cf. P. Ryl. 77, A.D. 54-67, 1 n.). The competence of the ἀρχιερεύς in legal affairs is not clear (cf. Jouguet, l.c., pp. 338 seqq.). It may be assumed that these two μεσῖται were merely acting in a private arbitration. The limits between the administrative and religious functions of the office of the ἀρχιερεύς are still in need of study, cf. E. P. Wegener, *Mnemosyne* (1948), pp. 15 seqq.

6 Καρᾶ is the genitive in P. Osl. inv. 1036, recto 2; Καρᾶτος (e.g. 1293) is more common, cf. *Symb. Osl.* xxxviii (1963), p. 41, n. 2.

10-11 This archidicastes is not previously known (cf. A. Calabi, *Aegyptus* xxxii 406 seqq.). An Aur. Achilles is met as strategus of Arsinoë: Ἀυρήλιος Ἀχιλλεύς ὁ καὶ Πολλαρίων στρατηγὸς Ἀρσινόιτου (SB 4421, 1, A.D. iii).

20 ἔδοξεν κοινῇ γνώμῃ (cf. P. Lond. v 1708, A.D. 567). For the various terms of the decision of the arbitrators, see Rees, *JJP* vii-viii 252 seqq.

22 ὑπὲρ τοῦ δίκας μὴ ἔχειν: for the exchange of περί and ὑπὲρ see Mayser, ii² 453. ὑπὲρ is used in our document to denote reason instead of περί (cf. Blass-Debrunner, § 231). See also examples in Mayser, ii¹ 328.

28 τό = τό<ν>: for the omission of the final ν, see P. Osl. ii 33, 9; 44, 11; Mayser, i 99, 192.

2769. AGREEMENT CONCERNING SUBSTITUTION IN SITOLOGIA

22.5 × 9.5 cm.

A.D. 242

Contract whereby Aurelius Philosarapis, son of Zoilus, who was nominated by the amphodogrammateus for the liturgy of sitologia, makes an agreement by which Aurelius Sarapion will carry out the routine tasks of his office. This contract is, to a great extent, similar to P. Mich. inv. 259 of A.D. 223 (unpublished); I should like to thank Professor H. C. Youtie who kindly sent me a transcript of it. Both documents offer a full description of the duties of a sitologus, reveal how a substitute was hired, and make clear that appointment of a substitute does not alter the responsibility to the state of the principal. A hired employee such as this was paid for by the hirer (cf. N. Lewis, *Proceed. of IXth Intern. Congr. of Papyr.*, p. 241; id., P. Leit. 13 and introd.).

ὁμολογοῦσιν ἀλλήλοις Ἀυρήλιος Φιλοσαράπης
 Ζωΐλου μητρὸς Θάήσιος ἀπ' Ὁξυρύγχων πό-
 λεως ἀναδοθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως
 ἀμφοδογραμματέως εἰς σειτολογίαν δημο-
 5 σείου π[ρ]οῦ κώμης Τανάεως τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος
 ε (ἔτους) καὶ Ἀυρήλιος Κα[ρα]πίων ὁ καὶ Ὠρίων Καραπί-
 ωνος μητρὸς [Εὐ]δαιμονίδος ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς
 πόλ[εως, ὁ μὲν Ἀυρ]ήλιος Φιλοσαράπης σνηλ-

10 λαχένα[ι Αὐρηλί]ω Σαραπίωνι τῷ καὶ Ὁρί-
 ωνι τὴν [προκειμ]ένην *κειτολογία*ν ἐπὶ [τῷ]
 αὐτὸν π[α]ρ[αλ]αβεῖν τὸν δημόσιον[ν] ἡμιαρ-
 τάβιον καὶ τὸν με[τ]ρούμενον ἐπὶ τῆς *κειτολο-*
 γίας δημόσιον πυρὸν καὶ ἐκδοῦναι τοῖς
 μετροῦσι θέματα καὶ ἐπιδοῦναι τῷ τοῦ νομοῦ
 15 στρατηγῷ τὰ συνήθη συναιραίματα καὶ τοὺς
 μηνιαίους καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐπιζητούμενα τῆς
κειτολογίας βιβλία καὶ παραδοῦναι τοῖς ἐπιστα-
 λησομένοις ναυκλήροις <πρὸς> τὴν αὐτὴν *κειτολογί-*
 αν πάντα τὸν μετρηθησόμενον ἐπ' αὐτῆς
 20 δημόσιον πυρὸν πλήρη ὑ<γ>ιώς καὶ πιστῶς
 καὶ λαβεῖν εἰς ὄνομα τοῦ *κειτολόγου* τὰς συνή-
 θεις ἀποχὰς καὶ ἀπαρενόχλητον καὶ ἀνεί-
 πρακτον καὶ ἄσκυλτον παρέξειν τὸν Φι-
 λοσαράπιν περὶ παντὸς ἀπλῶς διαφέρον-
 25 τος τῇ αὐτῇ *κειτολογία*, ὃ δὲ Αὐρήλιος Σαραπί-
 ων ὁ καὶ Ὁρίων εὐπειθὴς γενόμενος ὑπὸ
 Φιλοσαράπιδος περὶ τῶν τῆς *κειτολογίας* ἀν-
 αλωμάτων πάντων ἕκαστα ποιήσιν ὥς ἐ-
 πάνω δεδήλωται. κύριον τὸ ὁμολόγημα δι-
 30 σὸν γραφὲν πρὸς τ[ὸ ἐκάτερο]ν ἔχειν μον[α-]
 χὸν καὶ ἐπερωτήσαν[τ]ες ἀλλή[λους ὡ]μολόγησαν.
 (ἔτους) ε Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρ[κ]ου Αντωνίου
 Γορδιανοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυ[χο]ῦς Σεβαστοῦ
 Παῦνι θ̄. Αὐρήλιος Σαρα[πί]ων ὁ κ(αὶ)
 35 Ὁρίων Σαραπίωνος [κυ]νηλλάγην
 ὥς πρόκειται κ[α]ὶ δ[ιαπέπει]ςμαι(?) περὶ τ(ῶν)
 ἀν[α]λωμάτω[ν ± I2] ἐπὶ τῆς *κειτολογίας*.
 καὶ ἕκα[στ]α ποι[± I3] ...
 .[± 8]]σω[± I6]]

 verso: συνάλλαγμα *κειτολ(ογίας)*.

4 l. *κειτολογία*ν (ll. 10, 18), δημόσιον
 26 l. εὐπειθής

15 l. συναιρέματα

21 l. *κειτολόγου*

25 l. *κειτολογία*

'Aurelius Philosarapis son of Zoilus, his mother being Thaesis of the city of the Oxyrhynchî, who was nominated by the amphodogrammateus of the same city for the sitologia of the public corn of the village of Tanais in the current 5th year, and Aurelius Sarapion alias Horion son of Sarapion, his mother being Eudaemonis of the same city, agree, on the one hand, that Aurelius Philosarapis has transferred to Aurelius Sarapion alias Horion the aforementioned sitologia on condition that he will collect the public tax of half an artaba and the public corn paid in the sitologia and will issue receipts to the payers and will submit the usual summaries and the monthly reports and all the required accounts of the sitologia to the strategus of the nome and will deliver in full, honourably, and faithfully, to the shippers who will be directed to the said sitologia all the public corn paid on its account and will receive the usual receipts in the name of the sitologus, and will render Philosarapis undisturbed and free from exaction and damage with reference to absolutely everything related to the said sitologia; and on the other hand that Aurelius Sarapion alias Horion, satisfied by Philosarapis concerning all the expenses of the sitologia, will perform every task as set forth above. The agreement, written in duplicate so that each may have one copy, is valid, and questioning each other they agreed. The 5th year of the Emperor Caesar Marcus Antonius Gordianus Pius Felix Augustus, Payni 9. I, Aurelius Sarapion alias Horion son of Sarapion, have agreed as mentioned and have been satisfied concerning the expenses . . .'

1 *Ἀυρήλιος Φιλοσαράπης*: the person whom the amphodogrammateus had appointed for the sitologia (cf. P. Mertens, *Les Services de l'état civil*, p. 9), not previously attested.

12 *τὸν μετρούμενον ἐπὶ τῆς σειτολογίας*: for this local usage of *ἐπὶ* see Mayser, ii² 469.

13-14 *καὶ ἐκδοῦναι τοῖς μετροῦσι θέματα*: the word *θέμα* is frequently used in the papyri to mean 'deposit'. When a deposit was actually brought to the *θησαυρός*, the wheat was described as *μεμετρημένος* (cf. 518 1-5, A.D. 179-80). The wheat which was paid or transferred from the account of a certain person to that of somebody else was described as *διασταλμένος* (cf. 516 7-8, A.D. 160; 517 1-9, A.D. 130; 1530; 1539; 1540; 1444 4 n.). When such persons asked for payment from their deposits, the term *διαστολικόν* was used for this process (cf. 533 4). The owner of a private account could transfer the *θέμα* or part of it (*ἀπὸ θέματος*) either to the account of another person or to the public account (cf. Calderini, *θησαυροί*, p. 4; Preisigke, *Griechische Papyri*, pp. 143 seq.). The usual term for that was *διατέλλειν* (614). The sitologus, then, must make a notification of payment (*διαστολικόν*, *διαστολή*). The fact that he must issue such notification is attested by the usage of the verb *ἐκδιδόναι* 'to issue', as in . . . *ἐκδιδόντα τοῖς μετροῦσι διαστολὰς καὶ θέματα* (P. Mich. inv. 259, 16), where *θέματα* are likely to be a kind of acknowledgement of the payment, i.e. receipts. Consequently *θέματα* in 2769 should mean receipts.

14 The name of the strategus of Oxyrhynchus in A.D. 242 is unknown.

16-17 *τὰ ἄλλα ἐπιζητούμενα τῆς σειτολογίας βιβλία*: since *μηνιαῖος* and the *συναίρεμα* are mentioned in the document, the *ἐπιζητούμενα βιβλία* may indicate the reports required for shorter periods or else any required account. In P. Flor. 317, 6 and introd., Vitelli concluded that daily reports were sent to the strategus, but Calderini, *θησαυροί*, p. 7 denied this. Hunt (2119) puts P. Flor. 317 in the same category as P. Giss. 63 where reports were sent every five days, cf. Johnson, *Roman Egypt*, p. 491; Zaki Aly, *JJP* iv (1950), p. 293; id., *Akt. Wien.*, pp. 17 seqq.; P. Mert. 77, 8 seqq. n. For the term *τῆς σειτολογίας βιβλία* cf. P. Lond. 306 ii, p. 118, 15-16, A.D. 145, *τὰ τῆς τάξεως βιβλία* (of a praktor argyrikon); P. Fay. 35, 8-9, A.D. 150-1; *τὰ ἀποχὰς τῶν καταχωριζομένων βιβλίων τῆς τάξεως*. The *βιβλία* mentioned here are likely to be the account-books, in which everything related to the sitologia is recorded, rather than the reports made to other authorities.

22-3 Cf. 1626 18-20, *παρασχεῖν τὰ φανρόμενα καλάρια πρὸς τὸ ἀπαρενοχλήτους καὶ ἀσκύλους καὶ ἀζημίους παρέχειν*.

26-8 *Ὁρίων εὐπιθῆς γενόμενος . . . περὶ τῶν τῆς σειτολογίας ἀναλωμάτων πάντων*: the way of covering the salary as well as the other expenses is usually expressed more clearly: expenses in P. Lond. 306, 17-18, A.D. 145, *χωρηγοῦντος τὰς χάρτας καὶ τῆς ἄλλης δαπάνης οὗσης πρὸς αὐτόν*, salary in P. Fay. 35, 4-5, A.D. 150-1, *τὰς συνεσταμένας [ἡ]μεῖν ὑπὲρ καλαρείου*. The salary in such contracts was usually distinguished from the *ἀναλώματα* of the liturgy (cf. P. Eitrem 6, 17-18, A.D. 222-35, in *Klio* xxii (1929), pp. 225 seqq.; P. Mich. inv. 259, 22-3, A.D. 223; BGU 1062, 20, A.D. 236; P. Leit. 13, 17-20, mid A.D. iii). But in our document the hired substitute is to be satisfied *περὶ τῶν τῆς σειτολογίας ἀναλωμάτων πάντων*. In ll. 36-7 in *κ[α]ὶ δ[ιαπέπει]μαι(?) περὶ τ(ὼν) ἀν[α]λωμάτων* the substitute acknow-

ledges receipt of a sum of money for the expenses of the liturgy, but it is not to be expected that more details about the expenses and the salary would have been in the mutilated part. It must be assumed that the ἀναλώματα include the salary.

34 The date of the document in the month of Payni establishes the time of the beginning of the leiturgia.

36 δ[ιαπέπει]μαι(?). Cf. BGU 1062 19, the only other reference in the papyri. However διάπεισμα is very common and lends some support.

2770. DEED OF DIVORCE

11.6 × 27.0 cm.

26 January, A.D. 304

Deed of divorce between Aurelius Heracles and Aurelia Maria. The wife's name Maria raises the question whether she was Jewish or Christian. On Tcherikover's criteria, *CPJ* i xvii–xviii, she should be considered as Jewish. But since her family and husband's family bear Graeco-Egyptian names, and the document itself offers no other indication of her religion, it is possible to accept her as a pagan, believing her name to be a reflection of Jewish or Christian influence. A few places where the surface is rubbed have been restored from parallels (cf. Mitteis, *Chr.* 330 seqq.), not always easily because of the scribe's inability to sustain a grammatical construction.

- Ἐπὶ ὑπάτων τῶν κυ[ρ]ίων ἡμῶν Αὐτοκράτο-
ρων Διοκλητι[αν]οῦ τὸ [θ]ς' καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ
τὸ ης' Σεβαστῶν
Αὐρηλίοι Ἑρακλῆς Σεραπίωνος μη(τρὸς)
5 Ο διας ἀπὸ τῆς λαμ(πρᾶς) καὶ λαμ(προτάτης)
Ὁξυρυγχειτῶν πόλεως καὶ ἡ γενομένη
καὶ ἀπηλλαγμένη μου γυναικὶ Αὐρηλία
Μαρία Ἑρακλείδου μη(τρὸς) Ταυώνιος ἀπὸ τῆς
αὐτῆς πόλεως χαίρειν· ὁμολογοῦμεν ἀπε-
10 ζεῦχθαι τῇ[ς] π[ρὸ]ς ἀλλήλους συμβιώσεως
καὶ ἕκαστος ἡμῶν ἀπεσχέκναι τὰ ἑαυ-
τοῦ π[άντ]α ἐκ πλήρους καὶ οὐδὲν τοῖς ἐγκαλῖ[ν]
οὐδὲ [ἐ]ν[κ]αλέσ[ι]ν οὐδ[ἐ] ἐπελεύσασθαι οὐ-
δὲ περὶ τῆς αὐτῆς συμβιώσεως ἐγ' γρά-
15 φου [ἡ] ἀγ[ρά]φου πράγμ[ατος] ἢ ὁ[φ]ιλ[ήμα]-
τος ἢ α . . ο . . ν . . [. .] γμ . . [9] ως
ἐκ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν χρό[ν]ω[ν] μέχρ[ε]ι τῆς
ἐνεστῶσης ἡμέρας· τέκ[ν]α[. . .]ν ἐξ
ἀλλήλων μὴ ὁ[ν]των [. . . .] ἐξουσίαν
20 ἔχειν ὁπότερος ἡμῶ[ν] ἀ[ρ]μόζεσθαι

ὧ ἐὰ[ν] αἰρώμεθα γάμῳ ἀν[ε]ν[υθύν]ω
 καὶ ἀν[ε]γ[γ]κλήτῳ ὄντι· κύρια τὰ τῆς
 ἀποζυγῆ[ς γ]ράμματα διςσὰ <γ>ραφέντα
 πρὸς τὸ ἐκάτερον ἔχειν μοναχὸν καὶ
 25 ἐπερωτηθέντες ὁμολογήσαμεν.
 ἔτους κς' τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ
 καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν καὶ ιβς' τῶν
 κυρίων ἡ[μ]ῶν Κωνσταντίου καὶ
 Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτ[ω]ν
 30 Και ἀ[ρ]ων Τῦβι λ
 2nd hand) Αὐρήλιος Ἡρακλῆς
 ἀπεζεύχθην τῆς πρὸς ε'
 εὐβίωσιν καὶ ἔσχον τὰ
 ἡμέτερα πάντα ὡς πρό-
 35 [κ]ῖται καὶ ἐπερωτηθὶς ὡ-
 μολόγησα.

4 l. Αὐρήλιος 7 l. γυνή 13 l. ἐπελεύεσθαι 14 δε written over a cancelled π 33 l. συμ-
 βιώσας

'In the consulships of our lords the emperors Diocletian Augustus for the ninth and Maxi-
 mian Augustus for the eighth time. Aurelius Heracles son of Serapion his mother being . . ., of the
 illustrious and most illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites, and my former and divorced wife Aurelia
 Maria daughter of Heracleides her mother being Tauonis (?) of the same city greetings. We agree to
 have dissolved our mutual union and that each of us has all his belongings fully, and I do not make
 against you nor will make any claim, nor proceed on account of written or unwritten matters of the
 same union, nor of debt or of any other thing whatsoever from former times up to the present day.
 Since there are no children of our union, . . . each of us has the power to marry whom he may choose
 without incurring liability or claim. This document of the dissolution (of the marriage) is valid. It
 was written in two copies in order that each should have one copy, and having been questioned we
 agreed Year 20 of our lords Diocletian and Maximian the Augusti, and 12 of our lords Constantius
 and Maximian, the most distinguished Caesars, Tybi 30.

(2nd hand) 'I, Aurelius Heracles, have dissolved the union with you and have all my belongings as
 aforesaid, and having been questioned I agreed.'

5 As a reading a name like Σεραπιδίνας might be acceptable.

12 Cf. 266 16-19, P. Grenf. ii 76, 16-19.

16 Perhaps one should restore ἡ ἀλλοῦ τινὸς [πρ]άγματ[ος ἀπαξ]απλ[ῶς]. P. Strasb. 142, 15-18 (A.D. 391)
 has ἡ ἀπαιτήματος [ἐ]γκλή[ματος ζητήματος] εἰς ἀπαξ ἀπλῶς.

18 Possibly τέκνων δὲ ἡμῖν ἐξ ἀλλήλων μὴ ὄντων was intended.

2771. POWER OF ATTORNEY

21 x 10 cm.

A.D. 323

The purport of this document is straightforward enough, but no formal parallel to it has come to my notice. This may be because the original was drawn up on the island of Cos. The evidence, though not conclusive, suggests that this is a copy made in Egypt. It seems that the subscription, which should be an autograph, is in the same hand as the rest. This could, however, be because the woman who delegated authority for the sale of a slave could not write. The loss of the foot would have removed the declaration of a *ὑπογραφεύς*. The writing and orthography are typical of Egyptian papyri, but we have no reason for supposing that these things would be very different on Cos.

The presence of this document at Oxyrhynchus probably indicates that at least one of the people mentioned in it, the woman, her husband and attorney, her slave, or the hypothetical buyer of the slave, made the journey from Cos to Oxyrhynchus.

Other *ἐντολαί* of various forms are P. Lond. ii 233, P. Lips. 38, 1423, and P. Cair. Masp. i 67124. This list is given by P. Simon, *Zur Praxis der Stipulationsklausel*, p. 87.

τοῖς ἐξ[ο]μέγοις ἐ[κ τ]ρίτου ὑπάτοις πρὸ ὀκτῶ
καλανδῶν Ἰουλίων ἐν τῇ λαμπρᾷ Κώων
πόλ[ε]ι μηνὸς Ἀγριανίου []
Αὐρηλεία Ἀρτεμωνὶς Κῶα ἔδωκα ἐντολὴν τῷ ἀνδρί μου
5 ἵω πρὸς {c} τὸ αἰξουσίαν αὐτ[ὸ]ν αἶχιν δειὰ ταύτης
μου τῆς ἐντολῆς θέλης πωλεῖν <ν> θέλης χαρίζεσθαι
τῇν δούλην μου [Θ]εοδώρα <ν> ἣν ἡγόρασέ μοι εἰς ὄνομά μου
πρὸς <τὸ> ἀπόδειξι[ν] καὶ ἀμεριμνείαν αἶχιν τὸν αἰωνου-
μ[ε]ν[ο]ν καὶ μηδε[ν]μίαν αὐτὸν αἶχιν ζήτησιν
10 καὶ δι' αὐτῆς μου τῆς ἐντολῆς κύριον εἶνε καὶ βέβαιον.
Αὐρηλία Ἀρτεμωνὶς Κῶα . . . [. . .] . . . [. . .] α . [. . .] . . .

Verso (along the fibres) ἐπιτροπικὴ ἐντ[ο]λή[]

4 l. Αὐρηλία, ἔδωκα	5 l. ἐξουσίαν, ἔχειν, διὰ	6 l. θέλεις, θέλεις?	8 l. ἀπόδειξιν, ἀμερι-
μνίαν, ἔχειν, ἐωνημένον? ὠνούμενον?	9 l. ἔχειν	10 l. εἶναι	

'Under the consuls to be designated for the third time, the 8th day before the Kalends of July, in the glorious city of the Coans, in the month of Agrianus.

I, Aurelia Artemonis, woman of Cos, gave a mandate to my husband, . . . ius, so that he might have power, through this mandate of mine, either to sell or to bestow my slave Theodora, whom he bought for me in my name, so that the buyer may have proof of purchase and security, and so that he may be subject to no investigation, and through the same mandate of mine (the transaction?) shall be valid and warranted. I, Aurelia Artemonis, woman of Cos, . . .'

(Verso) 'Delegatory mandate.'

1 ἐ[κ τ]ρίτου = τὸ τρίτον: cf. Ev. Matt. 26, 44; Dsc. 5, 32. The date is 24th June, A.D. 323, cf. Kase, *P. Princ. Roll*, pp. 32-6 for the year, and 2767 1.

² *Κῶων*: according to Steph. Byz. there was a city called *Κῶς* in Egypt, taken to be Kus, or Apollinopolis Parva (*RE* xi 1480(2)), and there was an *ἐποίκιον Κῶς* in the Arsinoite nome, but the following month-name supports the view that this is the city on the well-known island of the same name.

³ *Ἀγριανίου*: for the problems of the Coan calendar see Paton and Hicks, *Inscriptions of Cos and Calymnus*, pp. 329 seqq. This passage shows that Agrianus partly coincided with June in A.D. 323. The gap after it seems hardly big enough to have held a letter/figure in this largish hand.

⁴ *Ἀρτεμωνίς*: not in *NB* or Pape.

ἄδωκα: the errors of spelling are all of well-known phonetic kinds and may be covered by a general reference to Mayser's *Grammatik*, vol. i.

⁶ *θέλης* . . . *θέλης*: cf. P. Tebt. 421, 7 seqq. *τὸ δὲ καλλάϊνον μ[ὲν] ἐνίγκης* (l. *-έγκης*) *ἀλλὰ θέλης* (l. *-εις*) *αὐτὸ πωλῆσα[ι] πώλησον, θέλης* (l. *-εις*) *αὐτὸ ἀφεῖναι τῇ θυγατρὶ σου ἄφες*, treated in Blass-Debrunner § 471 as an example of colloquial co-ordination in place of conditional subordination. This example and the related *θέλης οὐ θέλης, nolens volens* (LSJ *ἐθέλω*, 4), imply that *θέλης* . . . *θέλης* are here indicatives. The analogy of the Latin *vel* . . . *vel*, where *vel* is supposed to be an old imperative of *volo*, might lead one to suppose that they were independent subjunctives of command, cf. Horn, *Subjunctive and Optative*, pp. 120-3. (I owe to the O.U.P. reader the reference to another passage (Epiph. *haer.* 73, 35) with a very similar usage. quoted in the *Patristic Greek Lexicon*, s.v. *θέλω* III.)

⁷ [*Θ*]*εοδώρα*⟨ν⟩: there is not room for [*ΚΛ*]*εοδώραν*. Other possibilities, *Βιοδώρα* and *Διοδώρα* (see Dornseiff-Hansen, *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*), are excluded by the trace.

¹⁰ *δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῆς μου*. This reading is doubtful and does not produce a very straightforward text, but it suits the fairly extensive remains too well to be omitted.

¹¹ It is not certain that this is the subscription, but Aurelius or Aurelia is virtually certain and there seems to be no other good reason either for the repetition of the names of the parties or for the entrance of another character. For possible subscription formulas see 1423 12, P. Lips. 38, 7, P. Lond. ii. 233, 14, all different.

VERSO. This endorsement in large cursive runs downwards along the fibres close to the right-hand edge. It was done, I think, by a more expert hand than the writing of the recto, but this impression, based on the more formal style, may be wrong. In the left corner across the fibres there is another endorsement of two short lines in a small and rapid cursive, which has suffered damage from abrasion and worms. I have failed to read it. This too seems to me too expert for the writer of the recto. It is more difficult to decide whether it could be by the same writer as the other endorsement, but I think that there were three people at work.

2772. INSTRUCTIONS TO A BANKER

11.5 × 12.5 cm.

A.D. 10/11?

The writer of this note had a Roman *nomen* and used the Roman alphabet, but the Greek language. Transliteration was a stage in the learning of a second language, as is shown by the Greek-Latin glossaries in the script of one or other language (2660, 2660(a), Pack² 3003-5). PSI 743 (CPL 69), a transliteration of a conversation between Alexander and the gymnosophists, may have had some educational aim also, but that seems hardly likely here, and I can offer no explanation that I think likely. A similar case is SB 6304 (= *FIRA*, *Negotia* 134), a Latin sale the body of which is written in the Greek alphabet.¹

¹ Compare now a subscription to *BGU* xi ii 2116; from the plate (Taf. VIII) one might hazard something like *D]EDANICA TAS PROÇIM[ENAS ARGY]* | ²² *[RIV DRACHMA]S · HEBDEME-CONTA* . . . [= *δεδάνεικα τὰς προκειμένας ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς ἑβδομήκοντα*. The number at any rate is certain and the inference that the subscription is Greek in Latin letters is plainly to be made. The editor cites as a parallel P. Tebt. ii 586, which has a three-word endorsement written in the same way. While this note was in the press substantially the same correction was published independently by Dr. G. M. Browne in *ZPE* IV (1969) pp. 45-6.

Though there are wrong aspirations (ARPOCHRATIONI 3, H?JENACOSIAS 5) and one abnormal usage (ETOS 6 n.), the Greek is good. The conventions of transliteration are consistent. Greek *ou* is represented by V (IVLIOS 1, ARGYRIV 4), *ou* by OE (MOE 2), *ai* by AE (CHAEREIN 2, CAESAROS 7), and *v* by Y (COLLYBISTE 1, 3, ARGYRIV 4).

Punctuation is provided liberally between the words in the form of a middle stop. Once or twice it is missing inside the lines. At the ends it never occurs though every line ends with a word end.

On the back there is one letter only, a Greek alpha, upside down in relation to the writing on the front, about 1.5 cm. below the middle of the top edge on its own side.

IVLIOS · LEPOS ARCHIBIO · COLLYBISTE
 CHAEREIN · POESON · MOE · PARA
 ARPOCHRATIONI · COLLYBISTE
 ARGYRIV · DRACHMAS · CHILIAS
 5 .JENACOSIAS · PENTECONTA
 TREI]S · G(INONTAE) DR(ACHMAE) MCMLIII [·] ETOS
 XL [·] CAESAROS · PACHON · III

'Julius Lepos to Archibius the banker greeting. Pay to my account with Harpochration the banker one thousand nine hundred and fifty-three drachmas of silver. Total, 1,953 dr. Year 40 of Caesar, Pachon 3.'

1 The left edge here is not the original one, so that there may also have been a *praenomen*, particularly if it was represented by an abbreviation, as they so commonly are.

Lepos is known only as the name of a dancer in *Hor. Sat.* ii 6, 72. It is possible, though not remotely likely, that this is the same person about forty years older. He is described in the scholia of Pseudacron as 'grati Caesari' and might have acquired the Roman citizenship from Augustus with the names C. Julius.

After LEPOS the dot that divides the words is not detectable and was more probably omitted than rubbed away.

COLLYBISTE. Once only in *WB* from P. Petr. iii 59 (a) 7, κολλ]υβισταί.

2 POESON = ποήσον. The Attic form is common in the papyri, see *WB*, which cites P. Fay. 87, 3 (of A.D. 115) for ποιεῖν = 'pay', but this is a rare usage.

5 .JENACOSIAS. Nothing is required, but indentation is unlikely. Perhaps it was written HJENACOSIAS with the wrong aspiration, cf. ARPOCHRATIONI 3, and HENATON for ἑνατον in PSI 743, 13. See Mayser, i 199-203 for many examples in ordinary Greek owing to the gradual disappearance of the rough breathing.

6 G(INONTAE) DR(ACHMAE). There is a space and there may have been a dot after G. After DR there is neither and the right leg of R cuts into the following M.

MCMLIII. The symbol for 1,000 is not like the M in MOE (2) and DRACHMAS (4), but is a rounded version. For the shape of it cf. Ch.L.A. iii no. 208 ii 2, iii 29.

ETOS. ἔτος is the appropriate form in this sort of context; ἔτει is also found in the Ptolemaic period, but I cannot find another example of the accusative in a regnal year dating. ETVS as a reading is much less likely than ETOS. The letter is undamaged but oddly written. For the form of O here and elsewhere in the document but especially in CAESAROS and PACHON (7), cf. Mallon, *Pal. Rom.* 66 (p. 38).

7 XL. Feet only are visible but the foot of L is very appropriate, sloping down at a shallow angle under the beginning of the next word. X depends very much on the correctness of L, but the trace is appropriate to the lower left arm of X. XL[I·] might be possible.

2773. LOAN OF MONEY IN RETURN FOR USE OF A WEAVER'S LOOM

7.0 × 28.8 cm.

15 November, A.D. 82

Fragment of a loan in which the use of a weaver's loom is conceded by the debtors instead of the payment of interest. The debtors, two brothers, are referred to in the singular and in the plural alternatively. To judge from l. 38 it seems that one of them acted for both at the moment of writing the contract and that therefore he only handed over the loom (cf. 10) whereas the arrangements for the return of the debt concerned both brothers and thus are put forward in the plural (cf. 5 seq.; 11, 17, 20 seq.; 25, 29-31). The surface of the papyrus is much damaged.

- Ἡρακλῆς καὶ Πολλᾶς
 ἀμφοτέροι Πολεμαίου
 τῶν ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως
 Πέρσαι τῆς ἐπιγονῆς Διογᾶ-
 5 τι Ἡρακλήου χαίρειν. ἔχω-
 μεν παρὰ σοῦ διὰ χιρὸς ἕξ οἴ-
 κου ἀργυρίου σεβαστοῦ νομίσμα-
 τος δραχμὰς δέκα δύο κ[ε-
 φαλαίου ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν τούτων
 10 τόκων ἐξέστην χρήσιν
 οὗ ἔχωμεν ἱστοῦ γερδιακοῦ
 πηχῶν τριῶν παρὰ παλε-
 ςτὰς δύο, οὗ ἀντία δύο ἱστό-
 ποδες δὴ[ο] ἐπιμητον ἕν, ἐπὶ
 15 μῆνας ἕξ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐνεστώ-
 ς]ης ἡμέρας, μεθ' οὗς καὶ ἀ-
 ποδώσωμέν σοι τὰς τοῦ
 ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς δέκα δύο
 χωρὶς ὑπερθέσεως. ἐὰν
 20 δὲ μὴ ἀποδώμεν, καθὰ γέ-
 γραπται, ἐκτείσεωμέν σοι
 ταύτας σὺν ἡμιωλῖα καὶ

τόκοις. ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ τοῦ ἀργυ-
 ρίου ἀποδόσει παραδώσεις
 25 ἡμεῖν τὸν ἰστόν ὑγιῇ
 πλὴν τρίψεως ὄντον ἀλ-
 λήλων ἐγγύ(ων) εἰς ἔκτισιν,
 τῆς πράξεώς σοι οὔσης
 ἔκ τε ἡμῶν καὶ οὐδ' ἂν ἡ-
 30 μῶν αἰρήῃ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρ-
 χόντων ἡμεῖν πάντων.
 κυρία ἢ χεῖρ πανταχοῦ
 ἐπιφερομένη. (ἔτους) β
 Α[ὐτοκ]ρ[άτορος Καίς]αρος
 35 Δ[ο]μιτιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ
 μη(νὸς) Νέου Σεβαστοῦ ιθ.
 (2nd hand) Ἡρακ[λ]ῆς Πτολεμαίου
 ἔχω σὺν τῷ ἀδελφῷ
 ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ εἰςτοῦ χρήσει
 40 τὰς τοῦ{του} ἀργυρίου δρα-
 χμὰς δέκα δύω
 κεφαλέου καὶ ἀποδώ-
 σωμεν ἐξα.....
 ὥς πρόκιτα.
 45 (ἔτους) β Αὐτοκράτορος
 Καίσαρος Δο[μιτιανοῦ]
 Σεβασ[τοῦ] μη(νὸς) Νέου
 Σεβαστ[οῦ] ιθ (?)

5 l. ἔχομεν	6 l. χειρός	11 l. ἔχομεν	12 l. παλαιστάς	17 l. ἀποδώσομεν
21 l. ἐκτείσσομεν	22 l. ἡμιολία	24 l. ἀποδόσει, παραδώσεις	25 l. ἡμῖν	26 l. ὄντων
31 l. ἡμῖν	32 l. χεῖρ	39 l. ἰστοῦ	41 l. δύο	42 l. κεφαλαίου, ἀποδώσομεν
44 l. πρό- κειται				

'Heracles and Ptollas, both sons of Ptolemaeus, of the city of the Oxyrhynchii, Persians of the Epigone, to Diogas, son of Heracleus, greeting. We receive from you from hand to hand out of your house 12 drachmas of silver of imperial coinage as the principal and instead of the interest on them I concede you the use of a weaver's loom which we possess measuring 3 cubits less 2 palms, comprising 2 rollers, 2 beams and 1 . . ., for 6 months from the present day after which we shall give you back the 12 drachmas of silver without any delay. If we do not repay according to what has been written, we shall pay you these drachmas with a penalty of one half and with the interest. On the return of the money you will give us the weaver's loom in good order except for wear and tear;

we are mutual sureties for the repayment. You have the right of execution upon us and whichever you choose of us and upon all our property. The contract is valid wherever presented. In the 2nd year of the Emperor Caesar Domitian Augustus, in the month Neos Sebastos, 19th.

I, Heracles, son of Ptolemaeus, receive with my brother for the use of a weaver's loom 12 drachmas of silver as the principal and we shall return it . . . as said above. In the 2nd year of the Emperor Caesar Domitian Augustus, month of Neos Sebastos . . .'

12 seqq. Cf. 264 (54) 3-5 on a similar description of a weaver's loom, and E. Wipszycka, *L'Industrie textile dans l'Égypte romaine* (1965), pp. 52 seqq. on looms in general. The part which is called ἐπιμητον in l. 14 is not known otherwise. The word may be connected with μίτος.

43 ἐξα. A possible, but doubtful, interpretation of the ink would be ἐξ ἀλ(ληλ)ἐνγύης, cf. 25. ἐξαμηνιαίως, cf. 15, seems impossible.

2774. LOAN OF MONEY

16.3 × 10.8 cm.

A.D. 129

Agathodaemon son of Diogenes acknowledges to Pausanias son of Sarapion that he has received a loan of one talent and 1,500 drachmae of silver imperial money for one year, from Hathyr to Phaophi, at interest of 6 per cent per annum.

Ἀ[γαθ]ὸς Δαίμων Δι[ογ]ένους τοῦ Θεώνος Σωσικόσμιος ὁ καὶ
 Ἀλθ[α]ιὲν Πανσανία Σαραπίωνος τοῦ Σαραπίωνος μητρὸς
 Ἀπολλωνοῦτος ἀπ' Ὀξυρύνχων πόλεως χαίρειν. Ὁμολο-
 γῶ [ἐχ]εῖν παρὰ σοῦ διὰ χειρὸς ἐξ οἴκου ἀργυρίου σεβαστοῦ
 5 νομίσματος δραχμὰς ἑπτακισχίλιας πεντακοσίας
 αἷ [ἐ]στιν ἀργυρί[ο]ν τάλαντον ξν καὶ δραχμαὶ χίλιαι πεντα-
 κ[ό]σιαι γί(νονται) τάλαντον ξν καὶ δραχμαὶ χίλιαι πεντακόσιαι
 [κε]φ[α]λαί[ο]ν αἷ οὐδὲν τῷ καθόλου προσῆκται τόκου τρι-
 ωβολείου ἑκάστης μνᾶς κατὰ μῆνα ἕκαστον ἀπὸ τοῦ
 10 εἰσιόντος μηνὸς Ἀθύρ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτου
 ἔτο[υ]ς Ἀδριανοῦ καίσα[ρο]ς [το]ῦ κυρίου, ἀ[ν]τὶ ἀποδώσω [σο]ι
 χω[ρ]ὶς πάς[η]ς ὑπερθέ[σε]ω[ς] {εως} Φαῶ[φ]ι τριακάδι τοῦ
 [π]έ[μ]πτου καὶ δεκάτου ἔτους τοῦ εἰσιόντος Ἀδριανοῦ καίσαρος
 τοῦ [κυ]ρί[ο]ν. εἰάν δὲ μὴ ἀποδῶ καθὰ γέγραπται ἐ[κ]τεῖς[ω]ς [σο]ι
 15 τὸ πρ[ο]κ[ε]ίμενον κε[φ]άλα[ιο]ν μεθ' [ῆ]μιολί[α]ς

'Agathodaemon son of Diogenes son of Theon of the Sosicostmian tribe and Althean deme, to Pausanias son of Sarapion son of Sarapion, his mother being Apollonous from the city of the Oxyrhynchi, greeting. I acknowledge that I have received from you, hand to hand out of your house, a sum of 7,500 drachmae of silver imperial coin which are 1 talent and 1,500 drachmae, total one talent and 1,500 drachmae, to which nothing has been added at all, at the interest of 3 obols for each mina per month dating from the coming month Hathyr of the current 14th year of Hadrian Caesar the lord. These

I will repay you without any delay on the 30th Phaophi of the coming 15th year of Hadrian Caesar the lord. If I do not repay you in accordance with the agreement, I will forfeit to you the aforesaid sum with the addition of one half . . .'

2 Πανσανίας Σαραπίωνος τοῦ Σαραπίωνος: so far as the date goes, this Pausanias might be identified with Pausanias (6), son of Sarapion, in the family reconstructed by Turner *JEA* 38 (1952) 86 seq.; the mother and grandfather would be new. For another addition to this family, see 2793. 3-4 below.

8 τόκου τριωβολείου: cf. A. C. Johnson, *Roman Egypt*, p. 450.

2775. ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF A LOAN OF WHEAT FOR SOWING

15.5 × 15 cm.

Late third century

Acknowledgement of a loan of wheat for sowing, in two columns of which col. i on the left-hand side has 23 complete lines except for the first three which are damaged, col. ii only the beginnings of 23 lines. Both are mutilated at the foot. The two columns (written in the same hand) begin with the proper names *Αὐρήλιοι Τούρ[*. Therefore col. i contains a complete text and col. ii begins another. Since the text of col. ii seems too long to be an abstract of the acknowledgement and the lines could be similar to those of col. i, the two columns are assumed to be identical and the deed to have been written in duplicate on a single sheet, as in 988, 1040, and P. Mich. 423, 424. Only col. i is printed. The underlining shows what is preserved in the line-beginners of col. ii.

- Αὐρήλιοι Τούρ[βων καὶ ...]ας ἀμφό-*
τεροι Αὔσιρ[. μητρὸς Κι]νθώνιος (?)
ἀπὸ κώμη[ς κ]αταμένον-
τες ἐν ἐποικίῳ πρότερον ἱερέων
 5 *Αὐρηλίῳ Μαξίμῳ Καρᾶτος πραγμα-*
τευτῇ τῶν πρότερον Ἀμμωνίωνος
νυνὶ δὲ τοῦ ἱερωτάτου ταμείου
χαίρειν. ὁμολογοῦμεν ὀφείλειν
σοὶ ἃς ἔσχομεν εἰς λόγον κατασπο-
 10 *ρᾶς· τῷ μὲν διελθόντι ε (ἔτει) ἀπὸ γενή-*
ματος τοῦ προδιελθόντος δ (ἔτους) ἀρτά-
βας εἴκοσι ἐννέα, τῷ δὲ ἐνεστῶτι
ς (ἔτει) ἀπὸ γενήματος τοῦ διελθόντος

ε (ἔτους) ἀρτάβας δεκαοκτώ, τὰς ἐπὶ τὸ
 15 αὐτὸ ἀρτάβας τεσσαράκοντα ἑπτὰ,
 ὧν ταξόμεθα σοὶ διάφορον τὸ φα-
 νησ[όμεν]ον ἐπὶ ἐτέρων γεωρ-
 γῶν [το]ῦ αὐτοῦ ἐποικίου, ἅς περ ἀ-
 ποδώσομεν σοὶ τῷ Παῦνι μηνὶ
 20 ἐφ' ἄλλω τοῦ ἐποικίου πυροῦ νεοῦ
 καθαροῦ ἀδόλου ἀβώλου ἀκρίθου κε-
 [κος]κινεῦμ[ένου] μέτρῳ ᾧ καὶ παρ-
 [εὐλήφσαμεν] . . . ἐποι

.

'Aurelii Tour[bon and . . .]as both sons of Aysi[rion, their mother being Si]nthonis of the village of [] and living in the farmstead formerly of the priests to Aurelius Maximus son of Saras the agent of the estates formerly of Ammonion now of the most sacred treasury, greeting. We acknowledge that we owe you what we have received from you, on the one hand 29 artabae from the production of the year before last, which is the 4th year, for the sowing of last year, which is the 5th year, on the other hand 18 artabae of the production of last year the 5th for the sowing of the present 6th year. These are 47 artabae for which we promise to pay interest at the same rate as will be imposed on the other farmers of this same farmstead. We will deliver these to you in the month of Payni at the threshing-floor of the farmstead, in new, pure, unadulterated, sifted wheat, without earth or barley, by the same measure with which we received . . .'

1-2 *Αὐρήλιοι Τούρ[βων καὶ . . .]ας κτλ.*: the lacuna is of eight letters. The trace after *του* is suitable for the upright and long downward stroke of *ρ* rather than for the somewhat sloping iota. The names which begin with *Τουρ[* are not numerous: *Τούρβος*, *Τουρράνιος*, *Τούρβων* only. *Τουρράνιος* is too long for the space, *Τούρβος* is not a usual name at Oxyrhynchus, but *Τούρβων* is met there (1663). If there is a *καὶ* between the names there are about 3 letters for that of the second brother. There are various names which would fit for the name of the second brother such as *Μέλ]ας*, *Κεῖ]ας*, *Κωτ]ᾶς*, *Ἑρμ]ᾶς*, *Βης]ᾶς*, *Καρ]ᾶς* etc. The name of the father is written *αυσι[* to which I have found no parallel. *Αὐσιμη-φικ* (not met at Oxyrhynchus) does not fit the letters. Possibly, in spite of the trema, one should restore <Π>*ανσιρ]ῖωνος*, a frequent name at Oxyrhynchus. If so, the space left in the lacuna does not allow more than two letters for the name of the mother. *Κι]ρθῶνικ* is a common Oxyrhynchite name. If the suggestion about names is right, the second brother's name is likely to be *Καρ]ᾶς*. The name *Καρᾶς* is met as a son of *Πανσιρίων* and his mother is *Κινθῶνικ* in 1638, A.D. 282.

5 *Αὐρήλιος Μάξιμος Καρᾶτος πραγματευτῆς τῶν πρότερον Ἀμμωνίωνος νυνὶ δὲ τοῦ ἱερωτάτου ταμείου*: a *πραγματευτῆς* Maximus is the addressee of four other documents: (a) 1544 (dated ἐπὶ ὑπάτων) and 2285 (dated 'year 2'), both from a *πραγματευτῆς τοῦ κρατίστου Ἀμμωνίωνος*; (b) 1514 (year 5) and 2286 (year 6), both from Nemesammon. The mention of Ammonion identifies our man with Maximus (a); and the dating to a sixth year (12 seq.) suggests identification with Maximus (b). The years 5 and 6 will be those of Aurelian or Probus. The only thing against this is ἐπὶ ὑπάτων in 1544, which led Grenfell and Hunt to choose a date not earlier than Diocletian. But in *Rech. de Pap.* iii 62 no. 8 l. 5 (cf. 93 seq.) the phrase seems to reflect the uncertainty around the time of Aurelian's accession.

There is no necessity to identify this Ammonion with the *κράτιστος* Ammonios (1412 introd.).

If so, 2775 should be later than A.D. 285, but its date, the 6th year (12-13), can hardly be that of Diocletian = A.D. 289/90 since it is expressed by a single figure, not '6th and 5th'.

16 διάφορον = 'interest', τόκος, cf. 1474 4, 1040 10, 1042 28, etc., N. Lewis, *TAPA* lxxvi (1945), pp. 126 seqq.

23 The mutilated part may be similar to 1040 16 seqq.

2776. LEASE OF LAND

10·8 × 7·5 cm.

A.D. 119

Part of a lease of land, mutilated at the upper and lower edges.

[Ἐμίθωσεν] Ζαρ[απ]ίω[ν] ± 12 letters ἀπὸ τῆς
 Ὀξυ[ρύγχ]ων πόλεως Τ[] ± 19 letters
 του[...].[...]. ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτ[ῆς] Ὀξυ[ρύγχ]ων πόλεως
 Πέρ[ς]η τ[ῆς] ἐπιγ[ο]ν[ῆς] εἰς ἑ[τῆ] δύ[ο] ἀπ[ὸ] τοῦ ἐ[ν] [ες-]
 5 [τ]ῶτο[ς] τρίτον ἑ[το]νς Ἀδριανοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ [κ]υρίου
 [ἀ]πὸ τῶ[ν] ὑ[π]αρ[χ]όν[των] τῇ [γ]υναικ[ὶ] αὐτοῦ
 Ἀμμωνοῦτι Πανσίριος ἐ[δ]αφῶν περὶ Σκώ,
 [ἐ]κ μὲν τοῦ Ἀντιγόνου ἀρούρας ἐννέα ἡμῖς
 ὥστε τῷ πρώτῳ ἐνιαυτῷ ξυλαμῆσαι ἄρακι
 10 [ἐ]κφορίου κατ' ἄρουραν πυροῦ ἀρταβῶν δύο τῷ δὲ
 [δ]ευτέρῳ ἐνιαυτῷ σπεῖραι πυρῷ ἐκφορίου κατ' ἄ-
 [ρ]ουραν πυροῦ ἀρταβῶν δέκα, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Θεο-
 δώρου καὶ Αὐλαίου ἄρουραν μίαν ἀπὸ κοινω-
 γικῶ[ν] ἐ[δ]αφῶν ὥστε τῷ π[ρ]ώτῳ ἐνιαυτῷ
 15 [ς]πεῖραι [πυ]ρ[ῶ] ἐκφορίου ταυτῆς πυροῦ ἀρταβῶν
 [.....].[.....].[.....].[.....]

'Sarapion son of . . . from the city of the Oxyrhynchi has leased to . . . son of . . . also from the same city of the Oxyrhynchi, Persian of the epigone, for two years dating from the present third year of our lord Hadrian Caesar, 9½ arourae from the land belonging to his wife Ammonous, daughter of Pausiris, near Sko, from the holding of Antigonous. For the first year, the lessee is to sow the land with aracus at a rent of two artabae of wheat per aroura. In the second year, the lessee is to sow the land with wheat at a rent of ten artabae of wheat per aroura. (The lessor has also leased) one aroura of the holding of Theodorus and Aulaeus in joint lot, on terms that the lessee sow it with wheat in the first year at a rent of . . .'

1 Ζαρ[απ]ίω[ν]: the letters α and ρ are the only certain ones.

8 Ἀντιγόνου (κλήρος): not found before in the Oxyrhynchite nome. The holding might have acquired this name of an eminent person like Ἀντίγονος (ἐκατονταροῦρος) (P. Tebt. iii 31), or Πουφώνιος Ἀντίγονος (SB 9604 i, A.D. 62, Elephantine) who was living outside Oxyrhynchus.

11 The rental of ten artabae per aroura in the first half of the second cent. A.D. was a very high and profitable one. The average rental between A.D. 100 and 150 was c. 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ artabae (cf. Johnson, *Roman Egypt*, pp. 81 seqq., P. Mert. 68, note 1. 15).

13 (κληρος) Θεοδώρου καὶ Αὐλαίου: the same holding in the same κώμη Cκώ was found in Oxyrhynchus one and a half centuries later 2137 16-17 (A.D. 266). The proper name Αὐλαῖος has not been met previously at Oxyrhynchus. The title Theodorus may derive from the person who had a holding in Oxyrhynchus about three and a half centuries earlier: κληρος Θεοδώρου (P. Hib. 118, 3, 250 B.C.).

2777. SALE OF A SLAVE

23 × 17 cm.

4 March, A.D. 212 (?)

A contract of sale of the slave Thonis who is also called Epagathus, aged 19 years, for 1,600 drachmae of imperial silver coin. The deed is of the usual form.

- [(ἐτους)]^{1.1} Αὐτο[κράτορος Καίσαρος] Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου
 Ἀντωνε[ί]νον Πα[ρ]θικοῦ με[γ]ίστου Βρεττανικοῦ
 μεγίστου Εὐσεβοῦς Σεβαστοῦ Ἀρτεμεισίου
 Φαμενώθ ἡ ἐν Ὁξυρύγχων πόλει
 5 ἐπεὶ ἐπιτηρητῶν ἀγορανομείου Δωρο-
 θέωνος καὶ τοῦ σὺν αὐτῷ.
 ἐπρίατο Λο[ύκι]ος Οὐαλέριος Σεονῆρος ὁ καὶ
 Μέλας ὥς (ἐτῶν) μδ ο[ὐλ](ῆ) ρεινὶ μέσῃ παρὰ
 Στατωρ[ία]ς Φι[λ]οξένας ὥς (ἐτῶν) ν οὐλ(ῆ) καρπῷ
 10 δεξιᾶς χειρὸς χωρὶς κυρίου χρηματιζού-
 της κατὰ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἔθνη τέκνων δικαίῳ
 [...] ἐν ἀγνιᾷ τὸν ὑπάρχοντα αὐτῇ οἰκο-
 γενῇ ἐκ δούλ[ης] Ἰ[δ]ιώρας δούλον Θῶνιν
 τὸν καὶ Ἐπά[γ]αθον ὥς (ἐτῶν) ιθ παράστραβον οὐλ(ῆ)
 15 μετώπ(ω) ἀνακριθ[έ]ντα ὑπὸ τοῦ τοῦ νομοῦ
 στρατηγ[ο]ῦ Διδ[ύ]μου τῷ ὄντι μηνὶ ἀκολού-
 θως οἷς ἐπέδωκεν αὐτῷ ὁ ὠνούμενος
 τῆς ἀνακρίσεως βιβλιδίοις ὧν τὸ ἐπὶ
 ὑπογραφῇ τ[ο]ῦ στρατηγοῦ μοναχὸν ἔ-
 20 σχεν παρ' αὐτῷ ὁ αὐτὸς ὠνούμε-
 νος ὅστις καὶ αὐτόθι παρείληφε παρὰ
 τῆς Στατωρίας Φι[λ]οξένας τὸν δούλον
 Θῶνιν τὸν καὶ Ἐπάγαθον τοῦτον τοιοῦ-
 τον ἀναπόρριφον πλὴν ἱερᾶς νόσου

- 25 καὶ ἐπαφῆς τὰς δὲ συνπεφωνημένας
 ὑπὲρ τειμῆς τοῦ αὐτοῦ δούλου Θώνιος
 τοῦ καὶ Ἐπ[αγ]άθ[ο]υ ἀργυρίου Σεβαστοῦ νομίσ-
 ματος δραχμὰς χειλίας ἑξακοσίας αὐτόθι ἀ-
 πέσχεν ἡ Στατωρία Φιλόξενα παρὰ τοῦ
 30 ὠνουμένου Σεουήρου τοῦ καὶ Μέλα-
 νος ἐκ πλήρους. πωλεῖ καὶ βεβαιοῖ ἡ
 Στατωρία Φιλόξενα τὸν αὐτὸν δοῦ-
 λον ὡς πρ[όκειτ]αι ἐν ἀγνιᾷ τῇ αὐτῇ

2. l. Βρεταννικοῦ 3 l. Ἀρτεμισίου 5 l. ἐπὶ, ἀγορανομίου 8 l. ῥινί 12 ὑπαρχοντα
 15 ὑπο 19 ὑπογραφή 24 ἱερας 26 ὑπερ, l. τιμῆς 28 l. χιλίας

'The [twentieth(?)] year of the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Parthicus maximus Britannicus maximus Pius Augustus, Artemisius which is Phamenoth 8, in the city of Oxyrhynchus, before Dorotheon and his fellow supervisor of the office of the agoranomoi. Lucius Valerius Severus also called Melas, aged about 44 years with a scar in the middle of his nose, has purchased in the street, from Statoria Philoxena aged about 50 with a scar on the wrist of her right hand, acting without guardian according to Roman custom by the *ius liberorum*, the male house-born slave belonging to her, Thonis, also called Epagathus, aged about 19, with a slight squint and a scar on his forehead, his mother being the slave Isidora. Thonis was examined by Didymus the strategus of the nome in the present month in consequence of applications for examination which the purchaser presented to him, of which the same purchaser received a single copy endorsed by the strategus. The purchaser has forthwith received from Statoria Philoxena the slave Thonis also called Epagathus, just as he is, and unrenounceable, free from epilepsy and eruption (?), and the price mutually agreed upon of this same slave Thonis also called Epagathus, 1,600 drachmae of silver of imperial coinage, has been received in full on the spot by Statoria Philoxena from the purchaser Severus also called Melas. Statoria sells and guarantees the said slave as aforesaid, in the same street . . .'

1 Probably [(ἔτους) κ]. The line may have begun in ecthesis. The restoration of the date depends on three considerations: (a) Caracalla's sole reign begins with his 19th year; (b) the honorific Germanicus, first attested for year 21 after the German expedition of 213, is absent here (as also in BGU 356, year 22); (c) the strategus Didymus (line 16) is attested by SB 10275 (no date), **2341** (A.D. 208), and **1259** 26 (A.D. 211/12); the strategus Aur. Anubion is already in office in 212 (**1196** 1, PSI 1329. 1, SB 7988. 1).

5 ἐπὶ ἐπιτηρητῶν ἀγορανομίου κτλ.: this phrase is frequent in such deeds, e.g. **1706**, A.D. 207, PSI 181, A.D. 234, etc. It indicates that the deed is a δημόσιος χρηματισμός (cf. Taubenschlag, *Law*, pp. 175-6, and n. 26).

11 κατὰ τὰ Ῥωμαίων . . . δικαίῳ: Statoria, who enjoys the *ius liberorum* and acts without guardian, does not mention that she is ἐπισταμένη (or εἰδυῖα) γράμματα. It is unknown whether she is ἀγράμματος or μὴ εἰδυῖα γράμματα since the papyrus is mutilated at the bottom.

15-16 ἀνακριθ[έ]ντα ὑπὸ τοῦ τοῦ νομοῦ στρατηγοῦ: this is a clear piece of evidence, to be added to *Stud. Pal.* xx 71, xxii 60, P. Ross. Georg. iii 27 (which are given by E. P. Wegener, *JJP* ix-x, p. 105), that the strategus of the nome was the official who was responsible for the inspection in the chora (cf. Kühn, *Antinoopolis*, pp. 143 seq.). For the procedure see P. Herm. Rees 18.

16 Διδ[ύ]μου: cf. Henne, *Liste des stratèges*, p. 31 (**1259**); Mussies, P. Lugd. Bat. xiv p. 26 No. 277 (**2341**). Add SB 10275.

33 The mutilated part is likely to be similar to PSI 182, 29 seqq.; **1209** 28 seqq.

2778. MEMORANDUM

22 × 12.8 cm.

Second or third century

The papyrus was used at first for an account which was written along the fibres. A part of the papyrus was cut and this memorandum was written on the other side across the fibres.

οἱ γεωργοὶ τοῦ Ἀσφῆως [[τὸν]]
 εἰτὸν ἔτοιμον ἔχουσιν. οἱ
 ἴδιοι ὀνηλάται τὴν πλίνθον
 οὐκ ἠθέλησαν μεταφέρειν
 5 λέγοντες ἔθος εἶναι κριθὴν
 τοῖς ὄνοις δίδοσθαι. ἀπαρτί-
 ζονται δὲ εἰς τὴν ιθ' μυριάδες
 Γ. ἐὰν θέλῃς δι' ὀνηλατῶν
 τῆς κώμης μέρος τῶν τριῶν
 10 μυριάδων ἢ καὶ τὰς τρεῖς μετε-
 νεχθῆναι πρὸς τῇ<ν> θύρα<ν> τοῦ Νεο-
 φύτου ἐκ (δραχμῶν) κη μετενεχθήσε-
 ται. κλάδον ἀκάνθης εἰς μηχα-
 νὰς δύο εἰ θέλεις κοπῆναι ἐπεὶ
 15 χοινικίδες δύο καιναὶ ἀπόκειν-
 ται. τὸ λάχανον τῆς ιγ' {β} Ἐρύθῃως
 καὶ τοῦ Λύωνος εἰς αὔριον ἥτις ἔς-
 τιν ιδ' ἔτοιμόν ἐστιν παραδο-
 θῆναι. τὸ θέμα τῶν κ (ἄρταβῶν) συνήλι-
 20 κται.

'The farmers of Aspheus have the wheat ready. The private donkey-drivers did not want to transport the brick saying that the custom is to be given barley for their donkeys. Thirty thousand (bricks?) are being made ready for the 19th. If you wish a part of the thirty thousand or even the thirty thousand to be carried by the donkey-drivers of the village to the gate of the (village of) Neophytou, (they) will be transported at a rate of 28 drachmae. If you want, a branch of the acanthus can be cut for the two water-wheels since the two new naves of wheels are laid aside. The vegetables of Erythis (or -eus) and of Lyson for the 13th will be ready to be delivered tomorrow which is the 14th. The (receipt for the) deposit of 20 (artabae) has been rolled up with this letter.'

1 Ἀσφίς or Ἀσφῆως are names of persons. An Ἀσφῆως is met as a member of a guild of cloth dealers in 2230 2, A.D. 119.

8-9 δι' ὀνηλατῶν τῆς κώμης: the δημόσια κτήνη were owned by the villages from the 3rd cent. A.D. (P. Leipz. 85-6). The scribe of this document offers to use both the private (l. 3) as well as the public donkey-drivers; he does not seem to be an official concerned with public transportation such as the

sitologus, and may be an official on an estate (cf. E. R. Wolfe, *TAPA* lxxxiii (1952), pp. 89 seqq.). For the *δηλάται* see Oertel, *Liturgie*, pp. 116 seqq.; P. Thead. 29.

11 *Νεόφυτος* is met as a locality near Oxyrhynchus (cf. H. Cadell on P. Sorbonne 60, 4 n., A.D. v). *θύρα* as 'gate of the city' is rarely used in the meaning of *πύλη*. It might mean a lock on a canal.

16 *Ἐρύθεως*: a proper name, as *καί* in l. 17 shows. A name *Βερυθείς* or *Βερύθις* is not attested; *Ἐρυθείς* is attested but the beta needs explanation. Since the scribe says (ll. 17-18) 'tomorrow which is the 14th' one may expect that he intended to say that the vegetables were over-due and that they ought to be ready on the 13th. Perhaps then he made an error in the date, wrote it *ιβ*, and on discovering the error inserted *Γ* under the line and left the beta without crossing it out.

2779. RECEIPT FOR AN AXLE OF A WATER-WHEEL

20.4 × 30.5 cm.

30 December, A.D. 530

This papyrus follows a well-known pattern, cf. 2244 introd. and the papyri quoted there, P. Med. 64, 2724. The text belongs to the Apion archive.

+ ὑπατία Φ(λαουίων) Ὀρέστου καὶ Λαμπαδίου τῶν λαμπρο(τάτων) Τῦβι δ
ἰνδ(ικτίονος) θ

- Φλαουίῳ Στρατηγίῳ τῷ πανευφήμῳ καὶ εὐκλεεστάτῳ ἀπὸ ὑπάτων
στρατηλάτῃ καὶ πα[τ]ρικήῳ πρωτεύοντι κατὰ τε τὴν Ἡρακλεοπολιτῶν
καὶ κατὰ ταύτην [τ]ὴν λαμπρὰν Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πόλιν διὰ Μηρᾶ
5 οἰκέτου τοῦ καὶ ἐ[π]ερωτῶντος καὶ προσπορίζοντος τῷ ἰδίῳ δεσπότῃ
τῷ αὐτῷ ὑπερφυεστάτῳ ἀνδρεὶ Αὐρήλιος Ἐπίμαχος ὁ καὶ Ἀπίμα υἱὸς
Φοιβάμω[ν]ος μητρὸς Τερμουθίης ὁρμώμενος ἀπὸ ἐποικί(υ)
Παγγουλεε[ίου] κτήματος τῆς ὑμῶν ὑπερφυείας τοῦ Ὀξυρυγχίτου νομο(ὑ)
ἐναπόγραφ[ο]ς γεωργὸς χαίρειν. χρειὰς καὶ νῦν γεναμένης εἰς τὴν
10 ὑπ' ἐμὲ γεφυ[χ]ικὴν μηχανὴν καλουμένην Πενταουραίας
ἀντλοῦσαν εἰς[α] μπελον καὶ εἰς ἀρρόσιμον γῆν ἄξονος ἐνὸς ἀνελθὼν
ἐ[π]ὶ τῆς πόλ[εως] ἡξ[ί]ωσα τὴν ὑ[μῶν] ὑπερφυείαν ὥστε
κελεῖσθαι μ[οι] παρασχεθῆναι τὸν αὐτὸν ἄξονον καὶ εὐθέως
ἢ ὑμῶν ὑπ[ε]ρφυεία πρόνοιαν ποιουμένη τῆς κυστάσεως
15 τῶν ἐαυτῆς πραγμάτων τὸν αὐτὸν ἄξονα παρέσχετό μοι διὰ
Μοίσιωνος οἰκέτη τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὑπερφυεστάτου ἀνδρὸς
κ[α]ινὸν ἐπιτήδ[ι]ον ἀντλητικὸν εὐάρεστον, <ὄν> ἐδεξάμην εἰς
ἀγαπλήρωςιν πάντων τῶν μηχανικῶν ὀργάνων ἐν τῇ σήμερον
ἡμέρᾳ ἣτις ἔστιν Τῦβι τετάρτη τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους Ϸ ρος
20 τῆς παρούσης ἐνάτης ἰνδικτίονος ὑδροπαροχίας δὲ δεκάτης

ἐπινεμήσεως τοῦ δὲ παλαιοῦ ἄξονος [κ]ατενεχθέντος καὶ
 δοθέντος εἰς τὴν μεγάλην γεουχικὴν οἰκίαν καὶ πρὸς ἀπόδειξιν
 τῆς ὑποδοχῆς ταύτην πεποιήμαι τὴν χειρ[ο]γραφ(ίαν) ἥτις κυρία
 οὖσα ἀπλῇ [γρ(αφείσα) κ]αὶ ἐπερ(ωτηθεῖς) ὠμολ(όγησα). (2nd hand) + Αὐρήλιος
 Ἐπίμαχος υἱὸς Φοιβάμμωνος

25 ὁ προγεγραμμ[ένο]ς πεποιήμαι τὴν χειρογραφείαν ὑποδεξάμενος τὸν
 καινὸν ἄξον[α κα]ὶ συμφ(ωνεῖ) μοι πάντα ὡς πρόκ(εῖται). Αὐρήλιος Μηνᾶς υἱὸς
 τοῦ μακαρίου [Θ]εοδώρου ἀξιωθεὶς ἔγραψα ὑπ(έρ) αὐτοῦ ἀγραμμάτου ὄντος
 (3rd hand) ✠ di emu eteliothe . . Τῦ(βι) δ' ἰ(ν)δικτίονος θ'
 υκγ

(Verso) + χειρογραφία Ἐπιμάχου υἱοῦ Φοιβά[μ]μωνος ἀπὸ ἐποικ(ίου) Π[α]γγουλεε[ί]ο(ν)
 ὑποδοχῆς ἄξονος ἐν(ός)

1 l. ὑπατεία; Φλλ pap. 6 l. ἀνδρί 11 l. ἀρόσιμον 13 l. ἄξονα 16 l. οἰκέτου
 17 l. ἐπιτήδειον 24 for οὖσα l. ἐστίν 25 l. χειρογραφίαν

'In the consulship of Fl. Orestes and Fl. Lampadius the most illustrious, Tybi 4th, 9th indiction. To Fl. Strategius the all-honoured and most famous consular, dux and patrician, now being chief of the city of the Heracleopolites and of this illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites, through Menas the steward, managing and acting as agent for his master, the said most magnificent man, from Aurelius Epimachus also called Apima, son of Phoibammon and Termouthia, from the hamlet of Panguleeion, a holding of your magnificence in the Oxyrhynchite nome, registered farmer, greeting. Having now had occasion to require one axle for the landowner's water-wheel, which is called 'Five Arourai' and supplies water to vine-land and arable land, I went up to the city and asked your magnificence to order the said axle to be provided for me. And at once your magnificence having regard to the state of your property gave me the said axle through Moison, the steward of the said most magnificent man, a new one, serviceable, suitable for irrigation and satisfactory. I received it as completion of all the irrigating implements this very day, which is Tybi 4th of the current 207th year, which is also the 176th year, of the present 9th indiction, for the irrigation of the 10th epinemesis. The old axle was brought in and given to the noble household of the landowner. In declaration of the receipt I have made this deed which is valid written as a single copy and in reply to the formal question I gave my assent. I, Aurelius Epimachus, son of Phoibammon, the aforesaid, have made this deed, having received the new axle and all suits me as aforesaid. I, Aurelius Menas, son of the late Theodorus, wrote for him on request as he is illiterate.' 'Completed by me . . . Tybi 4, 9th indiction, 423.'

(Verso) 'Deed of Epimachus, son of Phoibammon, from the hamlet of Panguleeion for the receipt of one axle.'

2 Fl. Strategius is Strategius I. Cf. 1983 (535) 2-4 on the titles and offices of Strategius I.

4 Men of the name Menas as oiketai of this family are known from papyri from the end of the 5th century and throughout the 6th century; 'the position was probably held by successive members of the family' (Hardy, *Large Estates*, p. 84).

6 Aurelius Epimachus also called Apima is not mentioned anywhere else.

10 Cf., e.g., 2244 (vi/vii) on other names of watering machines, two of them also being compositions with the word arourai (16 ἑπτααρουρία, 48 ἑξκαιδεκααρουρία).

19 The years refer to the eras of Oxyrhynchus which were occasionally in use right down to the Arabic period (cf. 1632 9 n.).

28 υκγ. The explanation of these letters or figures remains to be found.

2780. RECEIPT FOR THE SALARY OF A ὑδροπάροχος

13.0 × 30.5 cm.

16 July, A.D. 553

The term of address to Fl. Gabrielia and the formula of the receipt follow the general practice of Byzantine times, cf., e.g., 1992 (572), 1892 (581). On ὑδροπάροχος see BASP V (1968) 101 seq.

- + βασι[ιλε]ίας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβ(εστάτου)
 ἡμῶ[ν δ]εσπότην Φλ(αοῦ)ν Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ
 αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου καὶ Αὐτοκρ(άτορος) ἔτους κξ̄ τοῖς
 τὸ ιβ̄ μετὰ τὴν ὑπατίαν Φλ(αοῦ)ν Βασιλίου τοῦ
 5 λαμπρ(οτάτου) Ἐπειφ̄ κβ̄ ἰνδ(ικτίονος) β̄ ἐν Ὁξ(υρυγχιτῶν) πόλ(ει).
 Φλ(αοῦ)ν Γαβριηλία τῇ ἐνδοξοτάτῃ καὶ ὑπερφ(εστάτῃ)
 πατρικίᾳ λαχούσῃ τὴν λογιστείαν καὶ
 προεδρίαν καὶ πατερίαν ταύτης τῆς
 λαμπρᾶς Ὁξ(υρυγχιτῶν) πόλεως ὑπὲρ
 10 οἴκου τοῦ τῆς περιβλέπτου μνήμης
 Τιμαγένους ἐπὶ τῆς εὐτυχοῦς λογιστίας
 δευτέρας ἰνδ(ικτίονος) διὰ τοῦ τοῦ αἰδεσίμου
 Χριστοφόρου τοῦ αὐτῆς διαδόχου
 Αὐρήλιος Τιμόθεος ὑδροπάροχος
 15 τοῦ δημοσίου λουτροῦ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλ(εως)
 υἱὸς Παύλου. ὁμολογῶ ἐσχηκέναι
 παρὰ τῆς ὑμῶν ἐνδοξότητος ἐντεῦθεν
 ἥδη ἀπὸ λόγου τοῦ ἐμοῦ[ν μισθ]οῦ ὑπὲρ τῆς
 πρώτης δόσεως τ[ῆς εὐτυχοῦς] λογιστίας
 20 δευτέρας ἰνδ(ικτίονος) χρυσ[οῦ νομισμάτ]ια
 δύο ἰδ(ιωτικῶ) ζυγ(ῶ) τῶ καὶ [±] διὰ τοῦ
 θαυμ(ασιωτάτου) Ἰωάννου ζυγοστάτου αὐτῆς
 γί(νεται) χρ(υσοῦ) νο(μισμάτια) β̄ ἰδ(ιωτικῶ) ζυγ(ῶ) καὶ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν τῆς
 ὑμῶν ἐνδοξ(ότητος) ταύτην αὐτῇ πεποιήμαι
 25 τὴν ἀπόδειξ(ιν) ἥτις κυρ(ία) οὖσα ἀπλ(ῇ) γραφ(εῖσα)
 καὶ ἐπερ(ωτηθεὶς) ὁμολόγ(ησα). + Αὐρ(ήλιος) Τιμόθεος υἱὸς
 Παύλου ὁ προγεγραμμ(ένος) πεποιήμαι τήνδε
 τὴν ἀπόδειξ(ιν) δεξάμ(ενος) τὰ αὐτὰ δύο νομίσματα ἰδ(ιωτικῶ) ζυγ(ῶ)
 λόγῳ τοῦ ἐμοῦ μισθοῦ πρώτης δόσεως λογιστίας
 30 δευτέρας ἰνδ(ικτίονος) καὶ στοιχεῖ μοι πάντα ὡς πρόκ(είται).

± . . .]μης ἀξ(ιωθεῖς) ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀγραμμ(άτου) ὄντος

* di emu iustu diakonu eteliothe'

(Verso) + ἀπόδειξ(ις) γεναμ(ένη) π(αρά) [T]ιμοθέου ὑδροπ[α]ρόχ[ου] υἱοῦ Π[αύ]λου
ὑπ[ὲρ] μι(αθοῦ) χρ(υσοῦ) νο(μισματίων) β ἰδ(ιωτικῶ) [ζυγ(ῶ)]

4 l. ὑπατεῖαν

11, 19, 29 l. λογιστείας

25 l. ἐστὶν

32 E. G. T.

'In the 27th year of the reign of our most god-like and pious master Fl. Iustinianus, the eternal Augustus and Emperor, and in the 12th year after the consulship of Fl. Basilus, the most illustrious, Epeiph 22 of the second indiction in the city of the Oxyrhynchites. To Fl. Gabriela, the most honourable and magnificent patrician, who obtained the offices of logistes and prohedrus and father of the city of this illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites, on behalf of the estate of Timagenes of noble memory in the fortunate logisteia of the second indiction through you, the most worshipful Christophorus, her deputy, Aurelius Timothy, water-supplier of the public bath of the same city, son of Paul. I agree that I have received from your honour now already on account of my salary for the first instalment of the fortunate logisteia of the 2nd indiction 2 gold solidi on private standard otherwise . . . through the most admirable John, your honour's weigher, total 2 gold solidi on private standard, and for the security of your honour I have made this declaration for you, which is valid written as a single copy and in reply to the formal question I gave my consent. I, Aurelius Timothy, son of Paul, the aforesaid, have made this declaration having received the said 2 solidi on private standard on account of my salary for the first instalment of the logisteia of the 2nd indiction and all is satisfactory to me as written above. I, . . . , son of . . . , wrote for him on request as he is illiterate.'

'Completed by me Justus, deacon.'

(Verso) 'Declaration made by Timothy, water-supplier, son of Paul, for (his) salary of 2 gold solidi on private standard.'

3 seq. The phrase τοῖς τό connecting the dating according to the emperor's name with that according to consuls seems to have been a speciality of Justinian's time only; cf., e.g., **133** (550) 2, **140** (550) 2, **2238** (551) 2, **1895** (554) 2, **1965** (554) 2, **1970** (554) 4, **1980** (557) 3, **125** (560) 2, **1972** (560) 3. For the date cf. P. Cair. Masp. i 67094, 3 n.

6 Fl. Gabriela is not otherwise known. But she may be identical with the late Gabriela, mother of Patricia, who are both mentioned in **2020** (late vi) 41.

7 seq. On the πρόεδρος, see Rouillard, *L'administration civile* 70 seq.; on the λογιστής and πατήρ πόλεως, *JJP* 7-8 p. 94. The noun πατερία has appeared before only in *Cod. Just.* 10. 56 (55) 1, again in connection with the λογιστεία. It is interesting to find all these offices held by a woman.

10 seq. Cf. **1887** (538) 2, **2016** (vi) 5, 13, and P. Warren 3 (± 530) 2 seq. on the estate of Timagenes and P. Warren 3, 2 nn. for a brief discussion of this and an οἶκος of Theon and the different opinions among scholars about the meaning and importance of οἶκοι in Byzantine times.

13 seq., 22 Christophorus, Aurelius Timothy, and John are not otherwise known.

21 The reading of τω is not certain, the letter after τ is clearly visible, but written in such a way that it looks either like a narrow ω or a wide-spread α. The gap might have contained a reference to another money standard which defined the balance of the private standard.

33 seq. Most letters of the verso are nearly invisible; their restoration was possible only with regard to the recto.

VII. PRIVATE LETTERS

2781. LETTER OF SARAPION TO SARAPAS

9 × 8.4 cm.

Second century

On the verso, across the fibres, Sarapion, who was absent from home, wrote a letter to his son Sarapas. On the recto part of two columns of a census-list, prepared for taxation purposes (certain persons are described as ἀτελεῖς, cf. Wallace, *Taxation*, pp. 112 seqq.; 984, A.D. 82–97).

¹ Σαραπίων Σαραπᾶ ² τῷ υἱῷ χαίρειν. ³ ἐὰν χρεῖαν ἔχῃς ἄρακος ⁴ πρὸ τουν ἔλθωμεν γενοῦ πρὸς ⁵ Ἀφύγχ[ιο]ν τὸν πωμαρίτην καὶ ⁶ δώσι σοι ὁ θ[έ]λεις, μὴ ἀμελήσῃς κοσκινεύειν τὸ μακρο⁸φυὴν χορτόσπερμον τῆς ⁹ ὑπηρεσίας τῶν κτηνῶν, μὴ ¹⁰ ἀμελήσῃς ἀσφ[.]λ. . . .ς (possibly ἀσφ[α]λίςας) τὴν χορτο¹¹θήκην καὶ τὸν θησαυρὸν ¹² διὰ τὸν φοῖνικα. ¹³ ἐρρωσθ(αι) εὖχ(ομαι).

‘Sarapion to Sarapas his son greeting. If you become in need of aracus before we return, go to Aphynchiüs the fruiterer and he will give you what you want. Do not neglect to winnow the grass-seed for the service of the animals, take care to [secure] the hayloft and the store for the dates. I pray for your health.’

⁴ τουν, cf. 611, Horn, *Subjunctive*, p. 128.

2782. LETTER OF A PRIEST TO A PRIESTESS

12 × 22 cm.

Second/third century

This little letter throws some interesting light on Graeco-Roman religious practices in the Oxyrhynchite villages. The priest has the title of ἱεροφάντης, the priestess that of καλαθηφόρος. Both these words are new in the papyri and though Demeter, whose temple in the village of Sinkepha is mentioned here and whose cult is implied by the priestly titles, was identified with Isis from the time of Herodotus (ii 59, 156), they suggest a Greek element in the rites. The list of sacrifices brings in other elements. The sacrifice for the emperors and their victory is Roman. That for the rise of the Nile is very localized; those for the increase of the crops and good weather are universal.

The letter is written on the verso of a document that quotes some official correspondence of the year A.D. 153/4. This can hardly help to date the letter very precisely, but the emperors referred to may be Marcus and Verus (A.D. 161–9) or Marcus and Commodus (A.D. 176–80), unless the words may be taken to mean emperors past and present.

Μ[άρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀπολλώνιος
 ἱεροφάντης καλατηφόρῳ
 Νε]σμείμεως χαίρειν·
 καλῶς ποιήσεις ἀπελθοῦσα
 5 εἰς Cινκέφα εἰς τὸ τῆς Δή-
 μ[ητρος ἱερὸν καὶ ἐπιτε-
 λο[υμένην ἢ τὰς συνήθεις
 θυσίας ὑπ[έρ] τῶν κυρίων
 ἡμῶν αὐτοκρατόρ[ων] καὶ
 10 ν[ίκης] αὐτῶν καὶ Νείλου
 ἀ[ν]αβ[ά]σεως καὶ καρπῶν αὐ-
 ξήσεως καὶ ἀέρων εὐκρασίας·

ἐ[ρ]ῶς θ'(αι) εὐχο'μ'(αι)

2 l. καλατηφόρῳ

'Marcus Aurelius Apollonius, hierophant, to the priestess who bears the basket in Nesmeimis, greeting. You will do well to go to Sinkepha to the temple of Demeter to perform the usual sacrifices on behalf of our lords the emperors and their victory and the rise of the Nile and the increase of the crops and the healthy balance of the climate. I pray for your health.'

3 Νε]σμείμεως. In the *ἄνω* toparchy, like Sinkepha, see, e.g., 1285 57, 65. It is not clear whether the priestess of Nesmeimis was to go to Sinkepha because there was no one there to do the work or whether she was simply to join others in the festivities.

2783. LETTER OF APOLLONIUS TO ARTEMAS

15 × 27 cm.

Third century

The unusually lively and forthright language of this letter is its main interest, especially the adaptation of an ancient proverb drawn from dicing (7 n.). Another novelty is the first mention in Greek of an *αὐτοματάρης* (= *-άριος*), presumably a maker of mechanical toys. The data about the prices of various sorts of olive oil are less helpful than might have been hoped because quantities are not specified and because the date can only be guessed from the handwriting.

Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀρτεμᾷ τῷ ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν·
 πρὸ μὲν παντὸς εὐχομε πᾶσι τοῖς θεοῖς τὰ ἐν βίῳ
 σοι κάλλιστα ὑπαρχθῆναι· καὶ νῦν τῷ ἀδελ-
 φῷ σου ἔδωκα (δρ.) φ καὶ τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ ἤδη

- 5 μετεβαλόμην ἀπὸ μέρους, καθὼς ἠθέ-
 λησεν· θαυμάζω δὲ ὅτι εἰς μὲν ἔλαιον
 τὸ τοσοῦτο ἀργύριον ἐχώρησαι· ἕξ δις ἔβα-
 λας· ἐνθάδε γὰρ τὸ Ἀμμωνιακὸν (δραχμῶν) σκ,
 τὸ δὲ Αὔασιτικὸν (δραχμῶν) σ· ὅθεν ἢ εἰς ἄλλην
 10 χρίαν λαμβάνεις δυναμένην ἡμᾶς
 ὠφελῆσαι, καλῶς ποιεῖς· ἔγραψας δέ μοι
 ὥς ἐμοῦ σε κατακόπτοντος ἄποντα,
 καὶ τοῦτο δὲ χεῖρω τῶν πρώτων· εἰ
 γὰρ ἀπαρτὶ ἐπίστασαί μου τὴν γνώμην,
 15 οὐκ ὀφίλις ἄνθρωπος κρίνεσθαι· καὶ ἄλλο-
 τέ σοι ἔγραψα ὅτι οὐτ' ἐγὼ τὸν κάμηλον
 Ἑρμία κατέσχον οὔτε ἄλλου τινός· εἰ δὲ
 ταῦτα θέλεις με γράφιν, γράφω σοι· τάχα γὰρ
 οὐκ ἀναγινώσκεις ἃ σοι γράφω· ὅσα δὲ
 20 ἔπαθαν ἐνθάδε χάριν τῶν καμήλων
 τῆς Κόπτου ὃ τε Ἀμμωνᾶς καὶ ὁ αὐτομα-
 τάρης Ἀνθρωπᾶς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες δύ-
 νασαι ἀκοῦσαι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου· οἱ
 δὲ τάμροι σου οἱ κατάρατοι στρηνιώσι
 25 καὶ πολλὰ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν προῆλθα χάριν
 σου· ἐὰ[ν].[. . .]
 .] . . . βουλήν ἔχω, ἐρῶ σοι· ἵνα μὴ δοκῶ
 πολλὰ γράφιν, ἐρρώσθαί σε <εὖ>χομαι·

(Left margin, downwards) τὸν τυφλὸν ὁ ἀδελφός σου ἀνήκασαί μαι πωλῆσαι·

30 (Back) Ἀρτεμᾶ π(αρά) Ἀπολλωνίου·

9 l. εἰ

24 l. ταῦροι

29 l. ἠνάγκασέ με

'Apollonius to Artemas, his brother, greeting. Before all I pray to all the gods that the best things in life may be yours. Just now I gave 500 drachmas to your brother, and to Ptolemaeus I have already made a part payment as he wished. But I am surprised that so much money went on olive oil. You threw (the proverbial) two sixes! For here oil from the Ammoniac Oasis costs 220 drachmas and from the Oasis (?) 200 drachmas. Therefore if you can buy to supply another need that can benefit us you will do well. You wrote to me that I am destroying you in your absence, and that worse than before. Yes, for if you (want to?) know my opinion just now, you ought not to be accounted a human being. On other occasions too I have written you that I did not detain Hermias' camel nor anyone

else's. If this is what you want me to write, I'll write (it) to you. For perhaps you don't read what I write to you. All that Ammonas and the automata-maker, Anthropas, and all the rest suffered here on account of the camels from (for?) Coptos, you can hear from your brother. Your cursed bulls are running wild and because of them I have appeared in court (?) several times, thanks to you. If . . . I have . . ., I shall tell you. So that you won't think that I'm writing too much, I'll bid you farewell.

'P.S. Your brother forced me to sell the blind one.'

(Address) 'To Artemas from Apollonius.'

3 τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου. Probably the bearer of the letter, see 19–23, where he is to relate more details to Artemas.

5 ἀπὸ μέρους. Cf. BGU 1201, 15.

7 ἑξ δίδ. Six is the highest throw with a single die. τρίς ἑξ is the highest throw in the game with three dice, see Fraenkel on Aesch. *Ag.* 33. Eustathius (*Il.* 1083, 67) says that the ancients used three dice instead of two, so this passage appears to concern the highest throw in the later game with two dice. 'You have thrown two sixes' would most easily mean 'You have had a great success', but the context hardly supports this. θαυμάζω in papyrus letters generally means 'I am unpleasantly surprised', and 9–11 seem to be asking Artemas to look for some other commodity to buy. I suggest, therefore, that there is an allusion to the proverb ἢ τρίς ἑξ ἢ τρεῖς κύβοι 'three sixes or three ones', used ἐπὶ τῶν μηδὲν διὰ μέσου κινδυνεύοντων (Eustathius, loc. cit.). Other references are collected in RE xiii 1950 and in M. Kokolakis, *Μορφολογία τῆς κυβευτικῆς μεταφορᾶς* (Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Φιλεκπαίδευτικῆς Ἑταιρείας, Ἀριθ. 31), pp. 21–2. If this is right, Apollonius means that in investing so much money in oil Artemas is taking the risk of a great loss because there are cheap supplies from elsewhere. Perhaps translate 'you have thrown (for?) two sixes', implying that the result may be disastrous or, in dicing terms, two ones.

8 Ἀμμωνιακόν, Ἀνασιτικόν. Ὀασιτικόν ἔλαιον is mentioned in PSI 203, 5, but which Oasis it came from is not specified. Here it clearly is not from the Oasis of Ammon (Siwa). The Little Oasis (Bahariya) is the one associated with Oxyrhynchus. Lists of the prices of oil can be found in A. C. Johnson, *ESAR* ii 316–17 and Johnson and West, *Byz. Econ. Studies*, pp. 181–2.

21 αὐτοματάρης. Cf. *automatarius*, Inscr. Orelli 4150, where the automata-maker is also a *klepsydriarius*. Hero of Alexandria's *Automaticopoetica* (ed. Teubn.) gives instructions for the making of these toys.

24 τάρμοι. Presumably a nasalized version of the late (and Modern Greek) pronunciation of αυ as 'av', cf. Kapsomenakis, *Vorunters.*, p. 11. The writer had difficulty with the nasal in ἡνάγκαε, 29 n.

25 προῆλθα. 'I appeared in court.' This is the commonest meaning in the papyri, but perhaps 'I have got years older' is a possibility, cf. προεληλυθότες ταῖς ἡλικίαις, Xen. *HG* 6, 1, 5.

27 Possibly the strong stop comes after ἔχω, and ἐρῶ σοι begins the next sentence. 'I shall say to you, so as not to seem to write (too) much, "I pray for your health."'

29 τυφλόν. An animal, I take it, perhaps a bull (24), or a camel (20).

ἀνήκααι = ἡνάγκαε; augment misplaced, as if the word were a compound with ἀνά?; or augment omitted (Mayser, i 333) and η for α (ibid., p. 62)? The nasal is dropped (ibid., p. 190). A similar form ἀνήγκααι = ἡνάγκαε, occurs in a University of Michigan thesis by Dr. Gerald M. Browne, shortly to be published as 'Documentary Papyri from the Michigan Collection' (*American Studies in Papyrology* VI), No. 5, 11. The editor compares P. Brem. 38 11, 2563 21–2 and P. Amh. 133 12. The last of these, ἀνηκάσαμεν, is particularly close to the present one.

2784. LETTER FROM DIDYMUS

23.5 × 12.4 cm.

Third century

Δίδυμος Ἀρείῳ καὶ Διονυσίῳ
υἱοῖς χαίρειν. [ἰ]κανῶς ἐνηδρεύ-
θημεν, ἀμελησάντων ὑμῶν περὶ τὸ

- πλοῖον. διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο μέχρι σήμερον
 5 οὐδὲ τὰ κτήνη ἀνέπεμψα προσδο-
 κῶν χόρτον αὐτοῖς ἐμβαλέσθαι.
 καὶ νῦν πορθμεῖον οὐκ εὖραμεν
 διαπερᾶσαι αὐτὰ ἀλλὰ παραβολευσά-
 10 μενος ἔπεμψα αὐτὰ κολυμβῶ
 διαπεραθῆναι καὶ εἰ ἐδυνήθη
 ἀνενεγκεῖν αὐτὰ εὐ.οῖος· καὶ
 ὥς πᾶν ποιήσατε π[λ]οῖον ἡμῖν
 πέμψαι ἵνα μὴ καὶ οἱ . . . τοι οὐς
 πεποίηκαν ἀπόλωνται. μέχρι
 15 δὲ ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα ἀγωγῆς
 ἔστω τὸ πλοῖον εἰ μὴ τὸ Παήσιος
 ἔρχεται ἢ εἰ ἀνάγκη ἦ καὶ μέ-
 χρι διακο[ς]ίων· καὶ ὅτ[α]ν συντά-
 ξησθε τῷ πλοί[ω] συνθέσθε
 20 πρὸς τὸν ναύτην τέσσαρας καρ-
 γάνας χόρτου ἐμβαλέσθαι ἡ-
 μῖν τοῦ ναύλου· καὶ [[δύο]] ἀγγεῖ-
 ὄν'[[α]] ἡμῖν πέμψατε, πρὸ πάντων
 τὸ μικρὸν βάδιον τὸ ἐν τῷ κοιτῷ·
 25 νι καὶ [[ἄλλο ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ]] καψάκην τὸν μέγαν· καὶ
 τοῖς κτήσι προσέχετε ἕως ἀνελ-
 θῶμεν. ἴδου γὰρ καὶ ὀλίγον χόρτον
 αὐτοῖς ἐπιδ[ί] . . . [. . .].
 30 ἐρρωσθαι ὑμᾶς
 εὐχομαι πολλοῖς
 χρόνοις.

'Didymus to Areius and Dionysius his sons greeting. We have been seriously set back because you neglected the matter of the ship. On account of this I did not send the cattle up till today for I was expecting that you would send the fodder for them, and now we did not find a ferry in order to pass them across (the river), but I have taken the risk and sent them to cross [by swimming?], even if Eu[n]oios (?) had managed properly to bring them. Nevertheless do your best to send a ship to us lest the . . . which they have made should be destroyed. Let the ship be of 150 artabas' burden, if that of Paesis is not coming or, if need be, even up to 200 artabas. When you agree on the ship, collect for the sailor four baskets of fodder in order to bring them to us for the transport charge, and

send also a bucket, and above all the small jar [measure?] which is in the bedroom and the big basket, and take care of the cattle until we come back. See, we (or you) . . . even a little fodder for them.

I pray for your lasting health.'

9 *κολυμβω*: i.e. *κολυμβῶ*, 'by the act of swimming'? cf. Paus. ii 35, 1. Faint traces above the line might be taken to suggest that an alteration to *κολυμβῶντα* was intended.

10 Or *εὖ* ἐδυνήθη?

11 *Εὖ, οἷος*: this may be a third brother. *Εὖροῖος*? But the trema on the iota makes the diphthong in an awkward position.

12 *π[λ]οῖον* is not certain.

13 Apparently *ρ* before *τοι*; room for one more letter (*ἄρτοι*) rather than two (*χόρτοι*).

15 *πεντήκοντα*, sc. *ἀρταβῶν*. So also 18.

24 *βάδιον* is a measure, cf. 1658, nn. 1, 4.

26 *τοῖς κτήσι* is a later form for *τοῖς κτήνεσι*, cf. P. Flor. 321, 47 n., A.D. iii.

2785. CHRISTIAN LETTER OF INTRODUCTION

8 × 13.5 cm.

Fourth century

This letter is written to a priest of Heracleopolis and may therefore be the sender's copy kept for reference in Oxyrhynchus. The inference is perhaps supported by the lack of an address on the back, but the letter may have been brought back to Oxyrhynchus even after it had served its purpose.

It is cast in a formula which recurs frequently, see Naldini, *Cristianesimo*, nos. 19, 20, 28, 29, 50, 94.

One of the persons recommended is a catechumen receiving instruction in Genesis. This may mean that he is at the beginning of his novitiate, because St. Augustine concluded his treatise *De rudibus catechizandis* with a specimen lecture covering the whole of Biblical history and beginning from the opening chapters of Genesis, but it is more natural to think that instruction began with the gospels and that this man had reached a more advanced stage.

χαῖρε ἐν κ(υρί)ῳ ἀγαπητὲ πάπα
 Cώτα πρεcβ(ύτερε) Ἑρακλέουc
 πολλά cε προcαγορεύομεν·
 τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἡμῶν
 5 Ταῖωνα παραγινομένην
 πρὸς cὲ παράδεξε ἐν εἰρή-
 νῃ, καὶ ἄν(θρωπ)ογ καθηχού-
 μενον ἐν τῇ Γενέσει,
 εἰς οἰκοδομὴν παράδε-
 10 ξε, δι' ᾧ cε καὶ τοὺς παρὰ σοὶ

1, 13 *κω* pap.

2 *πρεcβ'* pap.

6, 9 l. *παράδεξαι*

7 *ανογ* pap., l. *κατηχούμενον*

ἀδελφούς ἡμεῖς καὶ οἱ σὺν
 ἡμῖν προσαγορεύομεν·
 ἐρρῶσθαί σε ἐν κ(υρί)ῳ
 εὐχόμεθα, ἀγαπη-
 15 τὲ πάπα cδ

‘Rejoice in the Lord, beloved father Sotas, priest of Heracleopolis, we give you many greetings. Receive in peace our sister Taion who comes to you, and receive for edification a man who is being instructed in Genesis. Through them we and our companions greet you and our brothers with you. We pray for your health in the Lord, beloved father. 204.’

2 This Sotas is possibly the writer of **1492**, who may also have written P.S.I. 208 and 1041. Cf. also P.S.I. 311 (Naldini, *Cristianesimo*, no. 39) 27, where a possible reading is ἀπόδος Cώτα[], see Naldini, *Documenti di antichità cristiana*, Tav. XXVI no. 46. Yet another possible Sotas is the one mentioned in P.S.I. 1412, 10 δι(ἀ) Cώτου τοῦ χρησια[...], who may have been a Christian. In an Oxyrhynchite order to arrest, now being prepared for publication by Mr. Parsons, the person to be arrested is described as a χρησιανον. The only obvious solution is to interpret this as Χρησ(τ)ιανόν and restore P.S.I. 1412, 10 as Χρησ(τ)ια[νοῦ]. The spelling will be discussed in Mr. Parsons’s edition of the new papyrus.

7 Cf. P.S.I. 1041 (Naldini no. 29) 10 seq. καθηγούμενον ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, ‘catechumen at the beginning of the gospel’. But note that this does not refer to any specific reading material.

Before and after *ανογ* there are distinct spaces while the rest of the document is written closely. Even though there is no change in the writing or the ink it is possible that *ανογ* was added afterwards in a space left vacant for the man’s name. Because *Ανοσ* is not known to me as a name I have taken it that *ανογ* stands for *ἄν(θρ)ων*, the usual form for *ἀν(θρ)ων* as a *nomen sacrum* (Paap, *Nomina Sacra*, p. 105, cf. 88–9), supposing that the writer was for some reason unable to discover the man’s name, but the absence of a mark of contraction, though paralleled (Paap, p. 105) leaves room for doubt. *Ἄννοσ* exists as a name, see Pape, *Eigennamen*, and Foraboschi, *Supplementum*, s.v.

9 εἰς οἰκοδομήν. Probably metaphorical, ‘for edification’, see Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Bauer, *WB z. N.T.*, s.v. This sense seems to be new in the papyri.

15 cδ. The form of *εἴγμα* is that with a bowed foot which designates the number 200. It seems that this must be a Christian slogan written cryptically by taking the sum of the numbers represented by the letters in the same way as the well known ρθ = 99 = ἀμήν (1+40+8+50 = 99), cf. **2601** 34 n. There are other examples in F. Dornseiff, ‘Das Alphabet in Mystik u. Magie’, *ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ* vii (1922), pp. 111 seq., but 204 is not among them. 284 (cπδ) stands for θεός, ἄγιος, and ἀγαθός, but there is no particular reason to suppose that there is a mistake here.

2786. 11 × 10.5 cm. First century. Private letter.

¹ *Σαραπίων* ² *Ἰούστωι τῶι* ³ *νίῳ χαίρειν.* ⁴ *ἐπεμψα σοὶ διὰ Παπίριος* (first ι altered from α) ⁵ *(δραχμὰς) κδ (ὀβολοὺς δύο), ἃς διαγράφεις ὑπὲρ* ⁶ *Ἑρμῆτος καὶ Ἀχιλλέος* ⁷ *καὶ σημανεῖς μοι περὶ τοῦ* ⁸ *εἰληφέναι.* *ἀσπάζου τοὺς* ⁹ *ἀδελφούς σου* (cous originally written, last c cancelled) *μεθ’ ὧν καὶ* ¹⁰ *ἔρρωσο.* *Παχῶ(ν) σ’.*

Verso:]X *Ἰούστωι νίῳ.*

9 παχ pap.

'Sarapion to Justus his son, greeting. I sent you by Papiris 24 dr. 2 ob., which you are to pay out on behalf of Hermes and Achilles; and you are to notify me of receipt of them. Greet brothers. Good wishes for your health and theirs. Pachon 6.'

Verso. '... to Justus, his son.'

2787. 12.2 × 16 cm. Second century. Letter from Dionysius.

¹ Διονύσι[ος] Τ[+9 letters τῇ] ² ἀδελφῇ χαίρ[ειν], ³ κόμικαι παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς Χαιρήμονος ὅσυντρον καὶ τὰ ⁵ δελτάρια καὶ χιτῶνα ⁶ Ταψόιτος. ἄσπασαι τὰ παιδία ⁷ καὶ τοὺς ἐν οἴκῳ, ἀσπάζεται ⁸ σε Χαιρήμων καὶ τὰ παιδία ⁹ καὶ Ἀγαθός σε ἀσπάζεται ¹⁰ ἐρχομένῳ σε...λ..... ¹¹ ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὐχ(ομαι) ¹² ἐπεὶ ὁ στρ(ατηγός) μοι περὶ τοῦ ¹³του ἐπέθετο Ἀρίστων σοι ¹⁴ ἀναγνώτο (l. ἀναγνώτω) τὸ πεμφθὲν αὐ¹⁵τῷ πιττάκιον. ¹⁶ἐρρ' ὦ'(σθαί) σε εὐχ(ομαι).

Verso: ἀπὸ Διονυσίου, ἐπισ(κέπτου?) Χ Ἡρακλ(έους) πόλ(εως).

'Dionysius to T. . . his sister, greeting. Receive from (our?) father Chaeremon a mirror and the writing tablets and tunic of Tapsois. Greet the children and the people in the house. Chaeremon and the children greet you and Agathus greets you. . . . I pray for your health. Since the strategus has given me orders about this matter, let Ariston read you the document that was sent to him. I pray for your health.'

Verso. 'From Dionysius, surveyor (?) of Heracleopolis.'

⁴ ὅσυντρον, i.e. ὄσιντρον for ἴσυντρον, εἴσιντρον 'mirror'. See P. Osl. ii 46, 7 n., A.D. iii.

⁵ δελτάριον 'note', Plut. Cat. Min. 24.

2788. 6.5 × 14 cm. Third century. A friendly private letter, broken only at the top.

(beginning lost) . . . ¹ γράψαι σοι ὅπως ἀντιγράψῃς μοι πρὸ μὲν πάντων ³ περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας ὑμῶν ⁴ καὶ εἰ ὁ γεοῦχος ἠνώχλησεν ὑμῖν. παρατηρήσεις ⁶ δὲ καὶ τοὺς τοῦ Καρμάτου ⁷ ἐρχομένους ἐνθάδε ὅπως ⁸ διὰ αὐτῶν μοι γράψῃς περὶ ὧν ⁹ βούλει. σὺν θεῷ δὲ φάναι ¹⁰ καὶ γὰρ ἤξω πρὸς ὑμᾶς ¹¹ πρὸς τὴν πανηγυρικὴν. ¹² ἄσπασαι Καραπίωνα ¹³ καὶ τὸν υἱὸν Οὐάλην καὶ ¹⁴ Σεργίλλαν καὶ πάντας τοὺς ¹⁵ φιλοῦντας ἡμᾶς κατ' ὄνομα. ¹⁶ οὐκ ἐδυνήθην δέ τι διαπέμψασθαι ὑμῖν διὰ τὰ ὄντα ¹⁸ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ὥς καὶ ὑμεῖς ¹⁹ οἴδατε. ἐρρῶσθαι ὑμᾶς εὐχομαι ²⁰ ὁλοκληροῦντας. (down the left margin) ²¹]ἐνεχύρου ὅτι ἐξ οὗ ἐτελεύτησεν Φιλουμένη τόκον οὐ δέδωκα.

'... to write to you to write back to me before all things about your health and whether the landowner has been troubling you. Also you are to look out for Sarmates' people coming here so that you may send me a letter by them about whatever you desire. I too, to speak with god's help, will come to you for the day of the festival. Greet Sarapion and (my?) son Valens and Serenilla and all those that love us by name. I was unable to send any word (or anything?) to you because of the situation along the way as you know yourselves. I pray for your health and strength.'

Margin. '... (of a?) pledge, because since Philoumene died I have not paid interest.'

9 *ἐν θεῷ δὲ φάναι*: cf. P. Flor. 127, 1 (= *Sel. Pap.* i 140).

17-19 The meaning is not clear; perhaps the sender alludes to some natural obstacle along the way such as the Nile flood (cf. 2680 10-12: *ἐὰν αἱ ὁδοὶ στερεωθ[ῶσι] εὐθέως ἀπελευ[co]μαι*), perhaps to one of the third-century revolts, or to brigands.

21 *ἐνεχύρου*: probably genitive, but possibly the imperative of *ἐνεχυρόω*.

On the custom of writing in the left margin cf. Ghedini, *Lettere cristiane*, p. 91, note on ll. 24-5.

2789. 10.6 × 15.8 cm. Third century. Two letters of Cleopatra, written across the fibres on one sheet of papyrus, the first to her father Epaphroditus (who is called *πατήρ μου* also in 10), the second to the builder Morus (called 'brother' 9). Both concern a delivery of 5 artabas of barley to Morus, so that a debt due to a *dekaprotos* can be settled as a matter of urgency. The back is blank.

¹ *Κλεοπάτρα Ἐπαφροδείτῳ* ² *πατρὶ πλείστα χαίρειν.* ³ *Πᾶν ποιήσον παραμετρήσαι* ⁴ *Μώρῳ τῷ οἰκοδόμῳ κριθῆς* ⁵ *ἄρτάβ(α)ς πέντε, ἐπεὶ διεγοχλοῦμα[ι ὑ]πὸ τοῦ δεκαπρώτου, μέλλω* ⁷ *[γὰρ ἐ]ν κλεισθῆναι. ἀλ<λ>' ὅρα μὴ ἀμε⁸[λή]σης. ἐρ[ρῶ]ς θέ(1. -θαί) σε εὐχομαι.*

⁹ *Κλεοπάτρα Μώρῳ ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν.* ¹⁰ *ἔγραψα τῷ πατρί μου Ἐπαφροδείτῳ* ¹¹ *ὅπως παραμετρήσῃ σοι κριθῆς ἄρτάβ(α)ς* ¹² *πέντε, ἵνα διοικήσῃς τὸ κατὰ τὸν* ¹³ *δεκά-πρωτον, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν αὐτάρκης* ¹⁴ *εἶ περὶ τούτου. ἀλ<λ>' ὅρα μὴ ἀμελήσῃς.* ¹⁵ *ἐρ-ρῶς θαι σε εὐχομαι.*

4, 11 *αρταβ' pap.*

'Cleopatra to Epaphroditus her father, very many greetings. Make sure to measure out to Morus the builder five artabas of barley, since I am being pressed by the *dekaprotos*. For I am to be thrown into prison. See that you don't fail. I pray for your health.'

'Cleopatra to Morus her brother greeting. I wrote to my father Epaphroditus to measure out to you five artabas of barley so that you can settle the affair of the *dekaprotos* and from now on you will be competent in this matter. See that you don't fail. I pray for your health.'

VIII. MINOR TEXTS AND DOCUMENTS

2790. 21.5 × 10.5 cm. 23 July 255, 30 September 257. Two horoscopes written along the fibres on the verso of accounts of ἐχθέσεις: these accounts are badly damaged, but we have the following dates: first year of Gordian (238) and third year of the two Philips (245/6). The two texts, written one beside the other, are separated by a vertical line beginning and finishing with the symbol of κληρος Τύχης (cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *L' Astrologie grecque*, p. 288, n. 1). The hand, elegant and semi-literary, is of some palaeographical value since the text can be dated approximately. A second hand wrote in cursive the two words at the foot: *θηλυκοῦ* and *ἀρρενικοῦ*.

I am grateful to Professor Neugebauer for checking my calculations and making some helpful suggestions.

Col. i

᾽Ωρ(οσκοπος) Διδύμοις
Ἀφροδίτη Λέοντι
Ἡλιος Ἑρμῆς Ἀρης Ζυγῶ
Κρόνος Ὑδρηχόῳ
5 Ζεὺς Διδύμοις
Σελήνη Τοξότη
Κληρος Τύχης Κριῶ
(2nd hd.) *θηλυκοῦ*

Horoscope	Gemini
Venus	Leo
Sun, Mercury, Mars	Libra
Saturn	Aquarius
Jupiter	Gemini
Moon	Sagittarius
Lot of Fortune	Aries
(2nd hand) female	

Col. ii

᾽Ωρα Ζεὺς Κριῶ
Κρόνος Αἰγόκερω
Ἀρης Ἡλιος Ἑρμῆς
Σελήνη Λέοντι
5 Ἀφροδίτη Διδύμοις
Κληρος Τύχης καὶ Δαί-
[μ]ονος Κριῶ
πράξεως [] ..
(2nd hd.) *ἀρρενικ[οῦ]*

ii Horoscope (?), Jupiter	Aries
Saturn	Capricorn
Mars, Sun, Mercury, Moon	Leo
Venus	Gemini
Lot of Fortune and Genius	Aries
activity (?) . . .	
(2nd hand) male	

Col. i. After 246 the positions given in the text for Saturn and Jupiter are possible between July 257 and January 258 (cf. Tuckerman, *Planetary, lunar and solar positions*). For the other planets the positions according to the papyrus are as follows:

Mars	(180°–210°)	from 30 Aug. to 9 Oct.
Venus	(120°–150°)	from 13 Aug. to 6 Sept.
Mercury	(180°–210°)	from 4 Sept. to 30 Sept.
Sun	(180°–210°)	from 23 Sept. to 5 Oct.
Moon	(240°–270°)	from 1/2 Sept. to 4/5 Sept. or from 29 Sept. to 2 Oct.

The positions of Venus and the Sun are incompatible. Therefore we have two possibilities of dating: (1) 5 Sept. 257, about the 8th hour of the night (if there is a mistake in the position of the Sun); (2) 30 Sept. 257, about the 8th hour of the night (if the mistake is in the position of Venus). Neugebauer suggests that the entry for Venus must be wrong because otherwise the *κληρος Τύχης* would also be wrong (cf. *Greek Horoscopes*, pp. 8 seqq.). Thus Venus should be not in Leo (120°–150°) but in Virgo (150°–180°). By exact modern computation the positions for 30 Sept., A.D. 257 would be:

Venus	180°	Saturn	323°
Sun	187°	Jupiter	70°
Mercury	210°	Moon	~ 251°
Mars	204°		

8 I have found no parallels for this. Perhaps only the sex of the person whose horoscope it is?

Col. ii. It is impossible to find in Tuckerman's tables at a date reasonably close to 238/246 a position of Saturn–Jupiter which agrees with the text. If there is a difference of two degrees in our computation of Saturn and Jupiter with respect to that of the ancients we can date the horoscope to 23 July 255, about the 8th hour at night.

Text			Computation
Horoscopos	(Aries)	0°–30°	359°
Jupiter	(Capricorn)	270°–300°	302°
Saturn			
Mars	(Leo)	120°–150°	144°
Sun			119°
Mercury			134°
Moon			~ 150°
Venus	(Gemini)	60°–90°	76°

1 ὥρα = ὥροσκόπος, cf. 1564, 4 and 1565, 4.

8 ξ has been corrected perhaps from ζ. The horoscope perhaps finishes with a short astrological note: cf. *Greek Horoscopes* L61 VV86, 19.

9 Cf. Col. i 8 with note.

2791. 5.6 × 2.7 cm. Second century. One of the invitations to dinner often found at Oxyrhynchus (cf. Vandoni, *Feste*, pp. 129–31), only the occasion of the dinner is new: a celebration for the birth of a child.

1 Ἐρωτᾶ καὶ (l. σε) Διογένης διπνήσαι (l. δειπνήσαι) 2 εἰς πρωτογενέσιον τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ Σεραπείῳ 4 αὔριον ἥτις ἐστὶν Παχ[ὼ]ν 5 [.]ς ἀ[π]ὸ ὥρ(α)ς ἡ'.

'Diogenes invites you to dinner for the first birthday of his daughter in the Serapeum tomorrow which is Pachon 26 (? or 16), from the eighth hour onwards.'

2 πρωτογενέσιον: only the form in the plural was documented up to now, as more usual for this type of substantive (cf. Mayser, II i 39).

5 ὥρ(α)ς is written in the monogrammatic form frequent in these documents (cf. 2147 4 n.).

2792. 6.5 × 4 cm. Third century. This little slip, written in accordance with the usual style of invitations, finds a close parallel in **926** (= *W. Chr.* 486): it seems evident that on the occasion of an *epicrisis* there were private celebrations.

¹ Καλεῖ σε Ὁρείων εἰς ² τὴν ἐπὶ κρίσιν τοῦ ³ υἱοῦ (υἱοῦ pap.) τῇ τε εἰς ⁴ τὴν [ι]δίαν οἰκίαν ⁵ ἀπὸ ὥρας η΄.

‘Horion invites you to the *epicrisis* of his son on the 15th at his own house from the 8th hour onwards.’

2793. 8.5 × 7.2 cm. Second/third century. Receipt for transport costs given by Gaius Iulius Anthropas the agent of Ulpus Mygdonius to Sarapion alias Apollonianus son of Spartas.

¹ Γάϊς Ἰούλις Ἀνθρωπάς πραγμα²τευτῆς Οὐλπίου Μυγδονίου ³ Σεραπίωνι τῷ καὶ Ἀπολλωνι⁴ανῷ Σπαρτᾷ γυμνασια[ρ]χήσαν⁵τα (l. -σαντι) τῆς Ὁξυρυγχειτῶν πόλεως ⁶ γενομένῳ ἐπισκέπτῃ Ὁάσε[⁷ . . . c Z χαίρειν. Ὁμολογῶ ἀπε⁸χικέναι παρ’ ἐσοῦ τὸ κυμ⁹πέφω[ν]ημένον φόλετρον ¹⁰ .πο. [. . . εως ¹¹ [. . . (broken)

‘Gaius Julius Anthropas, agent of Ulpus Mygdonius, to Sarapion alias Apollonianus, son of Spartas, ex-gymnasiarch of the city of the Oxyrhynchites, formerly surveyor of the Oasis of the Heptanomia (?), greeting. I declare that I have received from you the agreed transport charge . . .’

3-4 Σεραπίωνι τῷ καὶ Ἀπολλωνιανῷ Σπαρτᾷ: this member of the family of Sarapion does not fit easily into the known stemma (E. G. Turner, *JEA* xxxviii 86 seqq.). Up till now persons called Σεραπίων ὁ καὶ Ἀπολλωνιανός are attested only for the left-hand branch, while Spartas is attested only for the right-hand branch.

6-7 γενομένῳ ἐπισκέπτῃ κτλ.: Ὁάσε[ω]ς may have stood in l. 6, but it is more likely that ε[] is the last letter of the line. At the beginning of l. 7 the traces occupy space for at most two letters, then comes a *sigma* and a sign resembling Z followed by χαίρειν. It is possible that the text should be written Ὁάσε[ω]ς and the following mark treated as a symbol or abbreviation. The whole phrase is naturally attached to the title of Sarapion.

The administrative relationship of the Oasis to the Oxyrhynchite nome has most recently been reviewed by D. Hagedorn, *Ztschr. Pap. und Epigraphik* i 2, pp. 134-7. We meet the ἐπιστράτηγος Ἐπτανομίας καὶ Ὁάσεως Μικρᾶς (P. Amh. 137, A.D. 289). One may think of the possibility of a person like Sarapion alias Apollonianus holding an office such as ἐπισκέπτης Ὁάσεως (Ἐπτανομίας) (= Z), less probably Ὁάσε[ω]ς τῆς (Ἐπτανομίας).

2794. 6 × 5.3 cm. Third century. List of supplies.

¹ λεγιωναρίοις α ² νομοκλάτορι α ³ [[ἰππεῦσι δ]] ⁴ [β]ενεφικι(αρίω) ᾱ ⁵ ἐπι-κτηνί(τη) ᾱ ⁶ γ(ίνονται) κο() δ̄. After κ in 6 the scribe has made a running loop, and continued the stroke below the line. κο() or κρ() could both be understood, i.e. κό(φιν) (cf. P. Hib. 268) or κρ(έατος λίτραι).

4 [β]ενεφικι pap. 5 ἐπικτηνί pap.

‘To the legionaries, 1; to the *nomenclator*, 1; [to the troopers, 4;] to the *beneficiarius*, 1; to the drover, 1. Total 4. . . .’

2795. 8.6 × 21.1 cm. A.D. 250. Lease of land. Originally published (with translation and plate) by G. M. Browne in *Bull. Am. Soc. Paph.* iv 2 (1967), pp. 49–52.

¹ ἐμίσθωσεν Ἀνρήλιος Σαραπίων(ν) ² ὁ καὶ Διονυσοθέων γυμνασιάρχῃ³σας βουλευτῆς τῆς Ὁξυρυγχειτῶ(ν) ⁴ πόλεως Ἀνρηλίους (l. -ίω) Κορνηλίω ⁵ [[καὶ]] Κολλούθω (l. -ου) μητρός Τανεσνέω[ς] ⁶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Πλεροῦτος ἐποικίου πρὸ[ς] ⁷ μόνον τὸ ἐνεστὸς β (ἔτος) τὰς ὑπαρχού⁸σας αὐτῷ περὶ κώμην Θῶσβιν πρ[ο]⁹γεωργουμένας ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ με¹⁰μισθωμένου ἀρούρας πέντε, ¹¹ ὥστε σπεῖραι πυρῶ ἐκφορίου ἀπο¹²τάκτον πυροῦ ἀρταβῶν (corr. from αρτωβων) εἴκοσι μιᾶς ¹³ ἀκινδύνου παντὸς κινδύνου, ¹⁴ τῶν τῆς γῆς δημοσίων ὄντων(ν) ¹⁵ πρὸς τὸν γεοῦχον κυριεύοντα ¹⁶ τῶν καρπῶν ἕως τὸν (corr. from ταν) πυρὸν ¹⁷ κομίση<ται>· ὃνπερ βαιβαιουμένης (l. βεβαι-) ¹⁸ τῆς μισθώσεως μετρίτω (l. μετρεῖτω) ὁ με¹⁰μισθωμένος εἰς δημόσιον θη²⁰σαυρὸν εἰδίαις (l. ἰδί-) ἑαυτοῦ δαπάναις καὶ ἀν²¹αλώμασι πᾶσι, οὗ καὶ θέμα καθα²²ρὸν ἀπὸ πάντων ἀναδότης ²³ ὑπὸ τὴν πρώτην τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ²⁴ ἔτους μέτρησιν ἀνυπερθέ²⁵τως, γενομένης τῆς πράξ[εως] ²⁶ παρὰ τε τοῦ μεμισθωμένου καὶ ²⁷ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτῷ πάντων(ν). ²⁸ κ[υ]ρία ἡ μίσθωσις, καὶ ἐπερωτη[θεῖς] ²⁹ [ὁ μ]εμισθωμένος ὡμολόγη³⁰[σε]ν. (ἔτους) β Ἀυτοκράτορος ³¹ [Καί]σαρος Γαίου Μεσσίας Κυνί[του] ³² [Τρα]ϊανοῦ Δεκίου Εὐσεβοῦς [Ε]ν[τυχοῦς] ³³ [κα]ὶ [Κ]ύντου Ἐρεννίου Ἐ[τρ]οῦ[σκου] ³⁴ Μεσσίας Δεκίου καὶ Γαίου ³⁵ Οὐάλεντος Ὀστυλ[λ]ιανοῦ ³⁶ Μεσσίας Κύντου τῶν ³⁷ σεβασμωτάτων Καιάρων ³⁸ Σεβασ[τῶ]ν Φαῶφι ιδ. One line space, and two traces of ink in mid line.

2796. 11.3 × 12.9 cm. Late third or early fourth century. Account of expenditure on heating, possibly for the public baths. The sums appear to be the contributions of named officials (five of them gymnasiarchs or former gymnasiarchs).

¹ ὑπὲρ καυμάτων ² Σαραπάμμων Ἀχιλλίωνος γν'μ'(νασιάρχῃσας) σεσημ(είωμαι) (δρ.) χ ³ Σαραπίων υἱὸς Φιλοσόφου γν'μ'(νασιάρχῃσας) (δρ.) χ ⁴ Δημητρίανος γν'μ'(νασιάρχῃσας) (δρ.) Ἀ ⁵ Αἴλιος Ἀγαθοκλῆς (δρ.) υ ⁶ Κληρονόμοι Διδύμου γν'μ'(νασιάρχῃσαντος) (δρ.) Ἀ.ν ⁷ Ἀπολλώνιος Αἰάνιος (δρ.) ρ.δ ⁸ Λεωνίδης γν'μ'(νασιάρχῃσας) (δρ.) χ

'For fuel. I, Sarapion, son of Achillion, ex-gymnasiarch, have signed; 600 dr. Sarapion, son of Philosophus, ex-gymnasiarch; 600 dr. Demetrianus, ex-gymnasiarch; 400 dr. Aelius Agathocles; 400 dr. Heirs of Didymus, ex-gymnasiarch; . . . dr. Apollonius, son of Aeanis (?); . . . dr. Leonides, ex-gymnasiarch; 600 dr.'

² In this line the entry γν'μ'() σεσημ() is above the line and it is not clear whether it applies only to l. 2 or to the whole text.

³ Φιλοσόφου: for the interpretation as a name cf. **1497** 1, A.D. 279, ὁ τοῦ Φιλοσόφου, **1413** 20, A.D. 270–5, Σευήρος καὶ Ἐπίμαχος οἱ τοῦ Φιλοσόφου, cf. *ibid.* 24. For a status designation (cf. P. Lips. 47,

11, 14) the article would have been expected here. It is possible that Sarapion is a brother of Severus and Epimachus in 1413.

4 Cf. *Αὐρήλιος Δημητρίανος δεκάπρωτος* 1260 9, A.D. 286, 1204 4, A.D. 299.

6 e.g. *Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Δίδυμος ὁ καὶ Ἡράκλειος πολ(ιτευόμενος?) βουλευτής* 1501 3, late A.D. iii; *Δίδυμος ἐξηγητ[εύ]τας* P. Osl. iii 111, 252 (cf. 205), A.D. 235.

2797. 4.5 × 11.5 cm. Third/fourth century. This document, a list of articles for a sacrifice, is of a type already known (cf. 1211), but a point worth noting is the involvement of the *beneficiarius* (on whom see P. Cair. Isid. 63 int.; Lallemand, *L'Administration civile*, p. 74 and note 4) in the sacrifice. 1211, of the second century, is addressed to the strategus.

¹ Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ. ² βενεφικιαρίῳ. ³ κατὰ τὸ ἔθος τῆς ⁴ θυσίας τοῦ ὄντος ⁵ μηνὸς Ἀθύρ. ⁶ ὄρνιθες δ̄ ⁷ δελφακὶς ⁸ ὠὰ ⁹ στρόβιλοι ¹⁰ οἶνου κεράμια ¹¹ μέλι, γάλα, ἔλαιον, ¹² της[ά(μινον) ἔ]λαιον, ἐκάστου ¹³ μικρόν (l. μικρόν?). ¹⁴ στέφανοι ¹⁵ ἀνθινοὶ ¹⁶ διευτύχει.

'For good fortune. To the *beneficiarius*, according to the custom of the sacrifice of the current month of Hathyr. Hens, 4; piglet, 1; eggs, 8; cones, 8; jars of wine, 2; honey, milk, olive oil, oil of sesame, a small measure of each; flower garlands, 8. Farewell.'

3-5 The most important winter festival, celebrated precisely in the month of Hathyr, was the 'Ισιεῖα (cf. Vandoni, *Feste pubbliche e private*, p. 141).

13 The reading μέτρον is impossible; perhaps μικρόν: if so, we can understand either μικρόν μέτρον (cf. WB iii, 18) or more probably μικρόν = a little: in 1211 10 there is no measure given for oil, honey and milk (cf. also SB 2266, 21 μικρόν ἐλαίου).

2798. 9 × 25 cm. A.D. 304/5. A receipt issued by two kapsarioi (cf. P. Giss. 50 int.) to a fellow worker for the price of two artabae of wheat. The price of one artaba of wheat here attested is 1,200 drachmae, i.e. about 133 drachmae less than the price stated in the *Edictum de pretiis* i 1 (cf. Johnson, *Egypt and Roman Empire*, p. 58). The fact is not surprising: the edict stated only the maximum over which the sale was illegal and we have evidence for cereal prices lower than those in the edict (cf. Rémondon, *Chr. d'Ég.* lxiii (1957), p. 135; Mickwitz, *Geld und Wirtschaft*, pp. 73-4). In the year 314 a price of 10,000 drachmae per artaba is attested (cf. P. Cair. Isid., p. 174), an increase of 833 per cent over the rate in the present text dated in 304-5.

¹ Αὐρήλιοι Μουνάτιος ² καὶ Ἀμμώνιος καψάριοι ³ Αὐρηλίῳ Ὠρίωνι ὁμοέργῳ ⁴ χαίρειν. [ἐ]χάμεν παρὰ σοῦ ⁵ ὑπ(ἐρ) τιμῆς [πυ]ροῦ ἀρταβῶν δύο ⁶ (γίνονται) (ἀρτάβαι) β, ἀρ[γ]υρίου δραχμὰς διςχιλίας <τετρακοσίας> ⁷ (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) Βυ. ⁸ (ἔτους) ιγς' καὶ ας τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν ⁹ Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ ¹⁰ Σεβαστῶν καὶ Σεονήρου καὶ Μαξιμίνου ¹¹ τῶν ἐπιφαν[ε]στάτων Καيسάρων ¹² []. (vac.) ¹³ (2nd hd.) [Αὐρή]λιοι

Μουνάτιος καὶ Ἀμμώ¹⁴[νιο]ς ἀπέσχαμεν ὡς πρό¹⁵κειται. Αὐρήλιος Δίδυμος ¹⁶ ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν μὴ εἰδó¹⁷των γρά[μ]ματα.

‘Aurelius Munatius and Aurelius Ammonius, dressing-room attendants, to Aurelius Horion, their fellow worker, greeting. We have received from you for the price of two artabae of wheat, total 2 art., two thousand (four hundred) drachmae of silver, total 2,400 dr. Year 13 and 1 of our lords Constantius and Galerius, Augusti, and Severus and Maximinus, most noble Caesars. . . .’ (2nd hand) ‘We, Aurelius Munatius and Aurelius Ammonius, have received as aforesaid. I, Aurelius Didymus, wrote on their behalf because they do not know letters.’

3 ὁμοέργω: cf., e.g., 1943 4.

5 The supplement [πυ]ροῦ is doubtful. I avoid the supplement [ἀχ]ύρου because measurement in artabae would be unusual for chaff (cf. *WB*; Hombert and Préaux, *Chr. d'Ég.* xxx (1940), p. 294) and the price would be too high for this year (cf. *P. Cair. Isid.*, p. 92).

6 <τετρακοσίας>: apparently omitted in error, since we seem to have the original edge of the papyrus, so that there would not even be space to read [ν].

2799. 9.5 × 13 cm. Sixth century. Application to an agent of the Count Strategius (uncertain whether I, II, or III). 5 lines, complete.

¹ καὶ παροῦσα ἡ σὴ θαυμασιότης παρεκλήθη παρ' ἐμοῦ χάριν τῶν ἐξ χρυσίνων τῆς καταδίκης ² καὶ ἐπηγγείλου τὰ δυνατὰ ποιῆσαι ὥστε κατορθῶσαι μοι ταῦτα, νῦν πάλιν προσφέρω τὰς αὐτὰς ³ παρακλήσεις ἵνα καταξιώσης ἅμα τῷ δεσπότη μου τῷ μεγαλο-πρ(επεστάτῳ) κόμετι Στρατηγίῳ ⁴ ποιῆσαι γράμματα καταλαβεῖν τοὺς ciπ[ποπ]οιούς τοὺς καὶ ἐκβιβάζοντας τοῦτο τὸ πρᾶγμα ⁵ ὥστε ἀποστήναι τῆς κατ' ἐμοῦ ὀχλήσεως.

‘When your excellency was present you heard my petition about the six golden pieces of the fine and you promised to do what is possible in order to set right these things for me. I renew now my requests that you together with my lord his excellency Strategius the Comes deign to cause the town-makers who are contesting this affair to receive letters that they may refrain from annoying me.’

3 Στρατήγιος: Strategius I, II, or III? II seems favoured on palaeographical grounds and as a person interested in the activities on the estate.

4 ciπ[ποπ]οιούς: a new word. The first π might also be τ, but π seems satisfactory. ciτ[οπ]οιούς would hardly fill the space.

2800. 10 × 13 cm. Census return. A.D. 188/9. For the formula and the significance of the names of the prefect and ex-prefect see 2762 introd. Meagre traces of a similar item preceding this one show that it was part of a *συγκολλήσιμον*. The foot and some of the ends of the lines are broken away. After line 16 there are traces of two more lines.

¹ παρὰ Θέωνος Π[αυσι]ρίωνος τοῦ ² Σαραπίωνος τοῦ κ(αί) (τουκ pap.) Π[αυ]σιρίωνος μητ(ρὸς) (μητ pap.) ³ Εὐδαιμονίδ[ος τῆς] καὶ Ἀπίας ἀπ' Ὁξ(υρύγχων) (οξ. pap.)

⁴ πόλεως. κατ[ὰ] τὰ κελευθέντα ⁵ ὑπὸ Τινηίου Δ[η]μητρίου τοῦ ⁶ λαμπροτάτου ἡγεμόν[ος
καὶ] ⁷ Αὐρηλίου Οὐρηριανοῦ ἡγεμ[(ονεύσαντος)] ⁸ ἀπογράφομαι πρὸς τὴν τοῦ διελ(θόντος)
(διὲ pap.) κη (ἔτους) (κη^l pap.) Αὐρηλίου Κομμόδου [Α]ντ[ωνίνου] ¹⁰ Καίσαρος τοῦ
κυρίου κατ' οἰκ(ίαν) (κατοι^κ pap.) ἀπο[γρ(αφήν)] ¹¹ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν ἐμοί τε καὶ τοῖς]
¹² ὁμογενείοις μου ἀδελφοῖς ¹³ Πλουτάρχῳ καὶ Σαραπίωνι τῷ καὶ ¹⁴ Πausανίᾳ καὶ τῷ
τῆς μετηλ¹⁵αχυίης ἡμῶν ἀδελφ[ῆς c. 4 ll.] ¹⁶ [.]ης τῆς καὶ Ἀπίας υἱ[ῶ] Ἡρ[.

'From Theon, son of Pausirion, grandson of Sarapion alias Pausirion, mother Eudaemonis alias Apia from the city of the Oxyrhynchi. In compliance with orders given by Tineius Demetrius, the most glorious prefect, and Aurelius Verianus, ex-prefect, I register for the house-by-house census of the past 28th year of Aurelius Commodus Antoninus Caesar, the lord, the (house?) belonging to me and my full-brothers Plutarchus and Sarapion alias Pausanias and to Her . . ., the son of our deceased sister . . . alias Apia . . .'

APPENDIX

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS TO PAPYRI PUBLISHED BY THE EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY

- I **180** (description). Text in *ZPE* 3 (1968) p. 161 cf. *ibid.* p. 2 and *Tafel* 1 (a).
- II **302** (description). Text in *BASP* vi p. 51, with photo.
- II **384**. Extract in II p. 280. In **287** γ n. πυροῦ τριω() σύν(αντα): for τριω() read τριμ = τρι(μήνου). See XXXVIII **2841** 8 n.
- III **513**, 29. For Οὔεστιδίου read Οὔεσιδίου. See P. Petaus 10 6 n.
- IX **1201**. For v(iro) p(erfectissimo) praef(ecto) Aeg(ypti) read v(ices) a(genti) praef(ecti) Aeg(ypti). See *CE* 44 (1969) p. 135.
- XIV **1719**. Correct *CE* 40 (1965) p. 357; cf. SB 10275, *BASP* vi (1969) 20-1.
- XVIII **2190**, 43 ὁ χρήσιμος; 58 τὸν κοίκα πάντα ἀ[κ]ρι- (read from the original by W. E. H. Cockle).
- XIX **2227**, 1 for Αὐρήλιος Αν[τίνοος] read]ος Απ[; 6 for τῶι πολεμάρχ[ωι] read τῷ Πτολεμαί[ω]. See *CE* 43 (1968) pp. 369-70.
- XX **2223**, Euripides, *Bacchae*. E. G. T. would date the text in early 1st cent. A.D. R. A. Coles notes that 1074 is not omitted in the original. Read ε]χουσα νωτοῖς δεσποτην εφημενον. 1131 end, Levitt reads ην δε πασα ομ[ου], rightly. Fragment (b) has been identified by R. A. Coles and M. K. Haslam independently as the beginnings of 1072-6.
- XX **2265** marginalia. New reading in *CE* 43 (1968) pp. 367-8.
- XXIV **2407**, 10. For μὴ [τὸ] δεύτ[ερ]ον ἐκτεῖ[ται] read μηδὲν πλεονεκτεῖ[ν]. (J. R. Rea, from the original, in response to another suggestion from Prof. N. Lewis.)
- XXIV **2411**, 36. For προ[θύμ]ως θε[λ]ήσονται ἐξ[ω]νήσασθαι read π[α]ρὰ [τοῦ] μελλήσονται[ος] ὠνήσασθαι (R. A. Coles from the original, in response to a letter from Prof. N. Lewis, suggesting conjecturally παρὰ τοῦ θελήσοντας κτλ.)
- XXV **2435**, 27. For [εὐ]χαῖς read [ψυ]χαῖς? See *ZPE* iv (1969) p. 150.
- XXVII **2479**, 26. εὐθενίας = tax for annona? See *REG* lxxx (1967) 353-62.
- XXXI **2586** title. For A.D. 253 read A.D. 264. (J. R. Rea.)
- XXXI **2596**, 6-7. For μυράφιον <καὶ> χαρτάρια β- read μυράφιον χαρτάρια β- = 'two paper packets of unguent'. See *Parola del Passato* 121 (1968) 1-4.
- XXXI **2603**, 7. For ὅπ[οι]ω[ς] π[ο]ύ[ν]αρχαι l. ὅπ[οι]ός τις] ω[ς] ὕ. (J. R. Rea.)
- XXXIII **2665**, 6. For Αὐρήλιοι ..[.]ν ὁ καὶ 'Ηρακλιανὸς κτλ. read Αὐρήλιοι Μωρ[έ]ω[ν] κτλ. cf. P. Princ. iii 133 2. (A. K. Bowman.)
- XXXIV **2708**, 23. For [.]..οθ. read λογοθ i.e. λογοθ(έτην), cf. e.g. SB. 7558 23. (P. J. Parsons.)
- XXXIV **2709**, 12. For τῇ διελεύσει [.] ἡμέ[ρ]α read τ. δ. [δευτέ]ρα. See *ZPE* 4 (1969) 39.
- XXXIV **2711**, 7. For ἀν [δι]καιοτάτη read ἀν[αγ]καιοτάτη. See *ZPE* 4 (1969) 40.
- XXXIV **2712**, 5-6. *Κάλπων τις Κορνηλίου ἐκ πατρὸς μισθούμενος χωρίον*. Professor Youtie points out that the position of ἐκ πατρὸς indicates that it should be taken with μισθούμενος not Κορνηλίου. Translate therefore 'A certain Salpon, son of Cornelius, lessee in succession to his father of a farm' etc.
7 for ἱκανὰ read ἱκανὰ
14 for κυρ[ί]ος[.].. read κύρ[ι]ος[.]..

XXXIV 2713, 4. For τῷ .α.[.]. .[πάππ]ω read τῷ παν[τ]ῇ π[άππ]ω, i.e. 'There were born, in all, to my . . . grandfather . . . three children.' (H. C. Y.)

6 μεταξύ; μετοξύν pap. (H. C. Y.)

6-7 For [τὸν αἰ]ῶν' ἀποδέδωκεν read τ[ὸ χρε]ῶν ἀποδέδωκεν. Cf. SB. 4426 διὰ τὴν νόσον ἀποδοῦναι τὸ χρέων. (J. R. Rea.)

8 δ' ἐπίστασε; δεεπιστασε pap. (H. C. Y.)

10 προπεσούσης; προσπεσούσης pap. i.e. 'from the inheritance devolving (upon us)'. (H. C. Y.)

11 ἐν ᾗ [οἰκῇ] ¹² καὶ(?) συνδέετο ἦσαν. Restore perhaps [ἐκεῖ] ¹² καὶ = ἐκεῖσε = ἐκεῖ, cf. LSJ s.v. ἐκεῖσε II. (H. C. Y.)

13 ἐπί; ἐπει pap. read ἐπί. (H. C. Y.) (Items marked H. C. Y. were contributed by Prof. Youtie from a photograph.)

XXXIV 2728, 28 ἐν τραχαίοις. Perhaps a bad spelling of ἐν δραχμαίοις? 33 βωρίδια cf. *Glotta* xlvī (1968) p. 247; *JEA* xiv (1928) p. 27. (J. R. Rea.)

P. Fay. 355 (description). Text in *JJP* 13-14 (1961-2) pp. 48-51; lines 3-4 corrected in *ZPE* 3 (1968) p. 164, see Tafel IV.

P. Hibeh 154 (description). Text in *BASP* vi (1969) 41-3.

INDEXES

Small roman numerals refer to columns. An asterisk indicates that the word to which it is attached is not recorded in the ninth edition of Liddell and Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon*. Square brackets indicate that a word is wholly or partly supplied from other sources or by conjecture. Round brackets indicate that a word is expanded from an abbreviation or a symbol.

I. 2745

(a) HEBREW NAMES

<i>Ιααλ</i> 2745A 16.	<i>Ιελιεζερ</i> [2745A 20?].	<i>Ιωαμων</i> [2745A 18].
<i>Ιαβεις</i> 2745A 4.	<i>Ιελιφ</i> [2745C 23.	<i>Ιωζαχαρ</i> [2745A 19].
<i>Ιαβη</i> [2745C 20.	<i>Ιεμαρεμ</i> 2745A 9.	<i>Ιωηλ</i> 2745A 10.
<i>Ιαεκ</i> [2745C 12.	<i>Ιεμουηλ</i> 2745A 5.	<i>Ιωιαδε</i> 2745A 17.
<i>Ιαμειν</i> 2745A 6, C 9.	<i>Ιερειωθ</i> 2745C 8.	<i>Ιωναδαβ</i> 2745A 12.
<i>Ιανω</i> [2745C 22.	<i>Ιερκ.</i> [2745C 15.	<i>Ιωσαβεε</i> [2745A 21].
<i>Ιαχειμ</i> 2745C 5.	<i>Ιερκααν</i> 2745C 16.	<i>Ιωσεδεκ</i> [2745C 4].
<i>Ιωω</i> 2745B 11-14, 17, 18-20.	<i>Ιεσει</i> [2745C 11.	<i>Ιωση</i> [2745C 17.
<i>Ιδα</i> [2745C 10.	<i>Ιεσαι</i> 2745C 6.	<i>Ιωσηρ</i> [2745C 18.
<i>Ιεβ</i> [2745A 3.	<i>Ιεφθορ</i> [2745C 19.	<i>Ιωφαλες</i> 2745A 14.
<i>Ιεβααλ</i> 2745C 21.	<i>Ιθαμαρ</i> 2745A 8.	<i>Ιωχαζ</i> 2745A 13.
<i>Ιεθερ</i> 2745A 15.	<i>Ισσαρων</i> 2745A 7.	
<i>Ιεκεμια</i> [2745C 14].	<i>Ιωαβ</i> 2745A 11, C 7.	

(b) GREEK WORDS

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<i>ἀνανεναυμένος</i> (<i>sic</i> P.) 2745B 16.	<i>ἐλαιοῦν</i> 2745B 7.	
<i>ἀπάρχειν</i> 2745B 10.	<i>ἦ</i> 2745B 4, 21.	<i>οἰκτιρμός</i> 2745B 9.
<i>αὐτός</i> 2745B 5.	<i>ἡμέρα</i> 2745B 5.	
<i>βοήθεια</i> 2745B 20.	<i>θεός</i> 2745B 5.	<i>περιστός</i> 2745B 15.
<i>γνώσις</i> 2745B 17.	<i>ἰσχύς</i> 2745B 11.	<i>πικρία</i> 2745B 8.
<i>δεξιός</i> 2745B 6.	<i>κατάσχεσις</i> 2745B 13.	<i>πίστις</i> 2745B 18.
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 Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Πρόβος Εὐσεβὴς Εὐτυχὴς Σεβαστός Year 2 **2764** 29-32.

DIOCLETIAN AND MAXIMIAN, CONSTANTIUS AND MAXIMIAN

οἱ κύριοι ἡμῶν Αὐτοκράτορες Διοκλητιανὸς καὶ Μαξιμιανὸς Σεβαστοὶ καὶ Κωνστάντιος καὶ Μαξιμιανὸς
 οἱ ἐπιφανέστατοι Καῖσαρες **2765** 4-7.
 οἱ κύριοι ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανὸς καὶ Μαξιμιανὸς Σεβαστοὶ καὶ . . . οἱ κ. ἡμῶν Κωνστάντιος καὶ Μαξιμιανὸς
 οἱ ἐπιφανέστατοι Καῖσαρες Year 20, 19, and 12 **2765** 17-20.
 οἱ κύριοι ἡμῶν Αὐτοκράτορες Διοκλητιανὸς καὶ Μαξιμιανὸς Σεβαστοὶ καὶ Κωνστάντιος καὶ Μαξιμιανὸς
 οἱ ἐπιφανέστατοι Καῖσαρες **2766** 6-8 (Year 20, 19, 12).
 οἱ κύριοι ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανὸς καὶ Μαξιμιανὸς Σεβαστοὶ καὶ . . . οἱ κύριοι ἡμῶν Κωνστάντιος καὶ Μαξι-
 μιανὸς οἱ ἐπιφανέστατοι Καῖσαρες Year 20 and 12 **2770** 26-30.

CONSTANTIUS AND MAXIMIAN, SEVERUS AND MAXIMIN

οἱ κύριοι ἡμῶν Κωνστάντιος καὶ Μαξιμιανὸς Σεβαστοὶ καὶ Σεουήρος καὶ Μαξιμίνος οἱ ἐπιφανέστατοι
 Καῖσαρες Year 13 and 1 **2798** 8-11.

JUSTINIAN

βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότου Φλαουίου Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ αἰωνίου Ἀυγούστου
 καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος Year 27 **2780** 1-3.

UNCERTAIN

οἱ κύριοι ἡμῶν αὐτοκράτορες (II/III) **2782** 8-9.
 οἱ δέσποται ἡμῶν ἀνίκητοι βασιλεῖς **2767** 8-9.

IV. CONSULS

ἐπὶ ὑπάτων τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Αὐτοκρατόρων Διοκλητιανοῦ τὸ θ΄ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τὸ η΄ Σεβαστῶν
 A.D. 304 **2770** 1-3.
 ἐπὶ ὑπάτων τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καيسάρων τὸ ε΄ A.D. 305
2766 1-2.
 τοῖς ἐσομένοις ἐκ τρίτου ὑπάτοις A.D. 323 **2771** 1.
 τοῖς ἀποδειχθεσμένοις ὑπάτοις τὸ γ A.D. 323 **2767** 1.
 ὑπατεία Φλαυίων Ὀρέστου καὶ Λαμπαδίου τῶν λαμπροτάτων A.D. 530 **2779** 1.
 τοῖς τὸ β μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλαυίου Βασιλίου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου A.D. 553 **2780** 3-5.

V. ERAS AND INDICATIONS

(a) 207/176 (εξ/ρος) = A.D. 529-30 **2779** 19.(b) ἰνδικτίων 2nd (A.D. 553) **2780** 5, 12, 20, 70; 9th (A.D. 530) **2779** 1, 20, 28.

VI. MONTHS

Ἀγριάνιος **2771** 3.Ἀθύρ **2774** 10.Ἀρτεμίσιος **2777** 3.Ἐπεῖφ **2764** 32 **2780** 5.Ἰουλίων (καλανδῶν) **2771** 2.Νέος Σεβαστός **2773** 36, 47.Παῦνι **2769** 34 **2775** 19.Παχών **2772** 7 **2786** 9 **2791** 4.Τῶβι **2770** 30 **2779** 1, 19, 28.Φαμενώθ **2777** 4.Φαρμούθι **2754** 13 **2759** 8, 14**2767** 24.Φαῶφι **2757** i 2 **2774** 12 **2795**

38.

Χοιάκ **2765** 21.

VII. PERSONAL NAMES

(f. = father; gd.-f. = grandfather; m. = mother; s. = son, etc.)

Ἀγάθαρχος *see* Ῥέμμιος.Ἀγαθοκλῆς *see* Αἴλιος.Ἀγαθος **2787** 9.Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων, s. of Diogenes, gd.-s. of Theon **2774** 1.Ἀδρατος, Aur., **2765** [14], 23.Αἰᾶνις(?) *see* Ἀπολλώνιος.Αἴλιος Ἀγαθοκλῆς **2796** 5.Αἰτέρνιος Φρόντων, *praefectus Aegypti* **2756** 8.Ἀμμωνᾶς **2783** 21.Ἀμμωνία, d. of Ἀπ[**2762** 13.Ἀμμώνιος *see* Θέων.Ἀμμώνιος, Aur., *capsarius* **2798** 2, 13.Ἀμμωνίων **2775** 6.Ἀμμωνοῦς, d. of Pausiris **2776** 7.Ἀμνντιανός *see* Διονύσιος Α.Ἀνθρωπᾶς, automata maker **2783** 22.Ἀνθρωπᾶς *see* Ἰούλιος.Ἀντίγονος *see* Index VIII.Ἀντωνῖνος *see* Index III.Ἀντώνιος *see* Index III.Ἀπία *see* Ἡρ[, Θέων.Ἀπίμα *see* Ἐπίμαχος.Ἀπίων *see* Πεκῶσις.Ἀπολλωνία *see* Θέων.Ἀπολλωνιανός *see* Σεραπίων.Ἀπολλώνιος **2757** i 3 **2783** 1, 30.Ἀπολλώνιος, s. of Aeanis(?) **2796** 7.Ἀπολλώνιος, s. of Dioscorus and Meithous, gd.-s. of Apollonius **2762** 2.Ἀπολλώνιος, s. of Ischyron, ex-exegetes, ἔναρχος πομπαγωγὸς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν στεμμάτων, senator **2768** 3-5.Ἀπολλώνιος, strategus **2759** 4.Ἀπολλώνιος *see* Αὐρήλιος.Ἀπολλωνοῦς *see* Πανσανίας.Ἀπολλῶς, s. of Heracleides **2758** 6.Ἄρειος **2784** 1.Ἄρειος, νομικός **2757** ii 5.Ἀρίστων **2787** 13.Ἀρποχρατίων, banker **2772** 3.Ἀρῆας, s. of Petosiris **2768** 1, 10, 13, 26, 29, 35.Ἀρσιήσις, s. of Petosiris **2768** 1, 9, 13, 25, 29, 35.Ἄρτεμᾶς **2783** 1, 30.Ἄρτεμωνίς, Aurelia **2771** 4, 11.Ἀρχίας, strategus **2758** 1.Ἀρχίβιος, banker **2772** 1.Ἄς...ς, κτενιστής **2761** 6.Ἄσφενς (or -ις) **2778** 1.Ἄττικός *see* Κομίνιος.Αὐλαῖος *see* Index VIII.Αὐρηλία *see* Ἀρτεμωνίς, Μαρία.Αὐρήλιος, Marcus A. Apollonius, hierophant **2782** 1.Αὐρήλιος Οὐρηριανός, *praefectus Aegypti* **2762** 6 **2800** 7.Αὐρήλιος *see* Ἀδρατος, Ἀμμώνιος, Ἀχιλλεύς, Δίδυμος, Ἐπίμαχος, Ἡράκλειος, Ἡρακλῆς, Ἡρᾶς, Θέων, Θῶνις, Κιαροῦρις, Κορνήλιος, Λούτενς, Μάξιμος, Μηνᾶς, Μουνάτιος, Πεκῶσις, Ποσιδώνιος, Καβίνος, Σαραπάμμων, Σαραπίων, Τιμόθεος, Τούρβων, Τρύφων, Φιλοσαράπις, Ὠρίων.Αὐρήλιος *see* Index III.Αυσιρ[*see* Τούρβων.Ἀφύγχιος, fruiterer **2781** 5.Ἀχιλλεύς **2786** 5.Ἀχιλλεύς, Aur., archidicastes **2768** 10.Ἀχιλλίων *see* Σαραπάμμων.Βασίλιος *see* Index IV.

Γαβριηλία, Flavia, patrician **2780** 6.

Γαῖος *see* Ἰούλιος.

Γαλληγνός *see* Index III.

Γορδιανός *see* Index III.

Δέκιος *see* Index III.

Δημητριανός, ex-gymnasiarch **2796** 4.

Δημήτριος *see* Τινήϊος Δ.

Δίδυμος **2784** 1.

Δίδυμος, Aur., **2798** 15.

Δίδυμος, ex-gymnasiarch **2796** 6.

Δίδυμος, s. of Sotades, ὑπηρέτης **2759** 2.

Δίδυμος, strategus **2777** 16.

Διογᾶς, s. of Heracleus **2773** 4.

Διογένης **2791** 1.

Διογένης *see* Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων, Ἡρᾶς.

Διογενίς *see* Θῶνις.

Διοκλητιανός *see* Index III.

Διονύσιος **2784** 1 **2787** 1, 17.

Διονύσιος Ἀμυντιανός, ex-cavalryman **2760** 2, 21.

Διονυσοθέων *see* Καπαίων.

Διόσκορος *see* Ἀπολλώνιος.

Διοσκουρίδης, logistes **2767** 2.

Δωροθείων, ἐπιτηρητὴς ἀγορανομείου **2777** 5.

Ἐπάγαθος *see* Θῶνις.

Ἐπαφρόδιτος **2789** 1, 10.

Ἐπίμαχος, Aur., *alias* Apima, s. of Phoebammon and Termuthia **2779** 6, 24, 29.

Ἐρένιος *see* Index III.

Ἐρμῆς **2786** 5.

Ἐρμίας **2783** 17.

Ἐρμίας *see* Ἡράκλειος.

Ἐρυθεύς **2778** 16.

Ἐτροῦσκος *see* Index III.

Εὐδαιμονίς *see* Θέων, Καπαίων.

Εὐδαίμων *see* Θέων, Ποτάμων.

Ζωῖλος *see* Φιλοκαράπις.

Ἡρ[], s. of . . . *alias* Apia **2800** 16.

Ἡρακλᾶς, s. of Pausirion **2758** 2.

Ἡράκλεια *see* Καπαίων.

Ἡρακλείδης *see* Ἀπολλῶς, Μαρία.

Ἡράκλειος, Aur., *alias* Hermias, strategus **2764** 2-3.

Ἡράκληος *see* Διογᾶς.

Ἡρακλῆς, Aur., s. of Serapion **2770** 4, 31.

Ἡρακλῆς, s. of Ptolemaeus **2773** 1, 37.

Ἡράμμων, *alias* Castor, strategus **2762** 1.

Ἡρᾶς, Aur., s. of Diogenes, phylarch **2763** 12.

Θα[] *see* Πεκῶσις.

Θαῖσις *see* Φιλοκαράπις.

Θαικάς, d. of Ptolemy **2756** 4.

Θαμου[] **2757** ii 3.

Θαυήτιον **2757** ii 3.

Θεοδώρα **2771** 7.

Θεόδωρος **2779** 27.

Θεόδωρος *see* Index VIII.

Θέων, Aur., *alias* Ammonius, s. of Eudaemon and Apollonia **2763** 3-5.

Θέων, husband of Myronous, *alias* Ptolema **2768** 3.

Θέων, s. of Pausirion, gd.-s. of Sarapion *alias* Pausirion, m. Eudaemonis *alias* Apia **2800** 1-3.

Θέων *see* Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων.

Θομφῆμις **2768** 14, 30.

Θώνιος *see* Τρύφων.

Θώνις, *alias* Epagathus, s. of Isidora, slave **2777** 13, 23, 26-7.

Θώνις, Aur., s. of Thonis and Diogenis **2763** 5.

Ἰούλιος, C. Julius Anthropolos, agent **2793** 1.

Ἰούλιος Λέπως (?) **2772** 1.

Ἰούλιος Λοῦπος, *praefectus Aegypti* **2757** ii 1, 4.

Ἰούλιος Μάξιμος, *archistator* **2754** 9.

Ἰουστινιανός *see* Index III.

Ἰοῦστος **2786** 1, 10.

Ἰοῦστος, deacon **2780** 32.

Ἰσιδώρα, slave **2777** 13.

Ἰσιδωρος, s. of Nicanor, gd.-s. of Sostratus **2756** 11.

Ἰσχυρίων *see* Ἀπολλώνιος.

Ἰωάννης, weigher **2780** 22.

Καλαμότις, shoemaker **2767** 4, 25.

Καλλιόπη **2761** 3.

Κάστωρ *see* Ἡράμμων.

Κιαροῦρις, Aur. ἀποδέκτης and ἐπισφραγιστής **2766** 13.

Κλεοπάτρα **2789** 1, 9.

Κολλοῦθος *see* Κορνήλιος.

Κόλων *see* Πεδουκάιος.

Κομίνιος Ἀττικός, *praefectus castrorum* **2760** 6.

Κόμμοδος *see* Index III.

Κορνήλιος, Aur., s. of Colluthus and Tanesneus **2795** 4-5.

Κορνήλιος *see* Ὠριγέννης.

Κύντος *see* Index III.

Κωνσταντίος *see* Index III.

Λαμπάδιος, Φλάουιος *see* Index IV.

Λέπως (?) **2772** 1.

Λεωνίδης, ex-gymnasiarch **2796** 8.

Λικίνιος *see* Index III.

Λούκιος *see* Οὐαλέριος.

Λοῦπος *see* Ἰούλιος.

- Λούτευσ, Aur., ἀποδέκτης and ἐπισφραγιστής **2766** 13.
 Λύκων **2778** 17.
- Μάγνος *see* Πακτουμήιος.
 Μαξιμιανός *see* Index III.
 Μαξιμίνος *see* Index III.
 Μάξιμος, Aur., s. of Saras, πραγματευτής **2775** 5.
 Μάξιμος *see* Ἰούλιος, Ποτάμων.
 Μαρία, Aurelia, d. of Heracleides and Tauonis **2770** 8.
 Μάρκος, f. of Marcus, gd.-f. of ... **2761** 2.
 Μάρκος *see* Αὐρήλιος.
 Μάρκος *see* Index III.
 Μειθοῦς *see* Ἀπολλώνιος.
 Μέλας *see* Οὐαλέριος.
 Μέσσιος *see* Index III.
 Μηνᾶς, Aur., s. of Theodorus **2779** 26-7.
 Μηνᾶς, slave **2779** 4.
 Μοίκων, slave **2779** 16.
 Μουνάτιος, Aur., *capsarius* **2798** 1, 13.
 Μυγδόنيος *see* Οὐλπιος.
 Μυρωνοῦς *alias* Ptolema, **2768** 2, 8, 16, 24.
 Μῶρος, builder **2789** 4, 9.
- Νικάνωρ, s. of Sostratus, f. of Isidorus **2756** 3, 11.
- Ὀρέτης, Φλάουιος *see* Index IV.
 Ὀειρις *see* Index IX.
 Ὀστιλιανός *see* Index III.
 Οὐάλενς *see* Index III.
 Οὐαλεριανός *see* Index III.
 Οὐαλέριος, L., Severus *alias* Melas **2777** 7, 30.
 Οὐάλης **2788** 13.
 Οὐηριανός *see* Αὐρήλιος Οὐ.
 Οὐήρος *see* Index III.
 Οὐλπιος Μυγδόنيος **2793** 2.
- Παῆς **2784** 16.
 Πακτουμήιος Μάγνος, *praefectus Aegypti* **2760** 4.
 Παπίρις **2786** 3.
 Παῦλος *see* Τιμόθεος.
 Πανσανίας, s. of Sarapion, gd.-s. of Sarapion, m. Apollonous **2774** 2-3.
 Πανσανίας *see* Σεραπίων *alias* P.
 Πανσειρίων *see* Ἡρακλᾶς, Θέων.
 Πανσίρις *see* Ἀμμωνοῦς.
 Πεδουκαῖος Κόλων, *praefectus Aegypti* **2757** i 1, 5.
 Πεκῦς, Aur., s. of Apion and Thamouis, gd.-s. of Pecysis **2764** 4-5, 33, 39.
 Πεκῦς, s. of Charmus, gd.-s. of Pecysis **2761** 4.
 Πετοσίρις *see* Ἄρκας, Ἀρσιῆς.
 Πλούταρχος **2800** 13.
 Πολέμων *see* Σεραπάμμων.
- Ποσιδώνιος, Aur., strategus **2763** 1.
 Ποτάμων, *alias* Maximus, s. of Eudaemon, gd.-s. of Eudaemon **2759** 5, 9, 15.
 Πούπλιος *see* Index III.
 Πρόβος *see* Index III.
 Πτολέμα *see* Μυρωνοῦς.
 Πτολεμαῖος **2783** 4.
 Πτολεμαῖος *see* Ἡρακλῆς, Θαικάς, Πολλάς.
 Πολλάς, s. of Ptolemaeus **2773** 1.
- Ῥέμμιος Ἀγάθαρχος, city scribe **2761** 1.
- Σαβῖνος, Aur., ἀποδέκτης καὶ ἐπισφραγιστής **2766** 9.
 Σάγκτος *see* Ταῖος.
 Σεραπάμμων, Aur., s. of Polemon and Heracleia **2764** 24-7, 37.
 Σεραπάμμων, s. of Achillion, ex-gymnasiarch **2796** 2.
 Σεραπᾶς **2781** 1.
 Σεραπιακός, Aur. **2765** 22.
 Σεραπίων [**2776** 1?] **2781** 1 **2786** 1 **2788** 12.
 Σεραπίων, *alias* Pausanias **2800** 13.
 Σεραπίων, Aur. **2764** 39.
 Σεραπίων, Aur., *alias* Dionysiotheon, ex-gymnasiarch, senator **2795** 1-2.
 Σεραπίων, Aur., *alias* Horion, s. of Sarapion and Eudaemonis **2769** 6-7, 9, 25, 34.
 Σεραπίων, s. of Philosophus, ex-gymnasiarch **2796** 3.
 Σεραπίων *see* Θέων, Πανσανίας.
 Σεραπᾶς *see* Μάξιμος, Φανίας.
 Σεραμάτης **2788** 6.
 Σεουήρος *see* Οὐαλέριος.
 Σεραπίων, *alias* Apollonianus, s. of Spartas, ex-gymnasiarch **2793** 3.
 Σεραπίων *see* Ἡρακλῆς.
 Σεραπνίλλα **2788** 14.
 Σινθῶνις *see* Τούρβων.
 Σπαρτᾶς *see* Σεραπίων.
 Στατωρία Φιλόξενα **2777** 9, 22, 29, 32.
 Στρατήγιος, count **2799** 3.
 Στρατήγιος, Φλάουιος, consular, dux, patrician **2779** 2.
 Σώστρατος *see* Νικάνωρ.
 Σωτάδης *see* Δίδυμος.
 Σώτας **2785** 2.
- Τααμόις, wife of Apollos, s. of Heracleides **2758** 9.
 Ταῖος (?), Titus Taisus (?) Sanctus, *praefectus Aegypti* **2760** 1.
 Ταῖων **2785** 5.
 Τανενεύς *see* Κορνήλιος.
 Ταυῶνις *see* Μαρία.
 Ταψόις **2787** 6.

Τερμουθία *see* Ἐπίμαχος.
 Τιμαγένης 2780 11.
 Τιμόθεος, Aur., s. of Paul, water-supplier 2780 14, 26, 33.
 Τινήσιος Δημήτριος, *praefectus Aegypti* 2762 4 2800 5.
 Τίτος *see* Ταῖος.
 Τμαρος (?) 2757 3.
 Τούρβων (?), Aur., s. of Ausir[, and Sinthonis 2775 1-2.
 Τραϊανός *see* Index III, Index X s.v. λεγεών.
 Τρύφων, Aur., s. of Thonius, *ex-exegetes*, senator, ἐπιμελητὴς κυτοκρίθου etc. 2766 4-5.
 Φανίας, s. of Saras, *archiereus* in office, senator 2768 6.
 Φιλοσαράπης, Aur., s. of Zoilus and Thaesis 2769 1-2, 8, 23, 27.

Φιλόσοφος *see* Σαραπίων.
 Φιλουμένη 2788 21.
 Φλαουία *see* Γαβρηλία.
 Φλάουιος *see* Στρατήγιος.
 Φλάουιος *see* Index III, Index IV.
 Φοιβάμμων *see* Ἐπίμαχος.
 Φρόντων *see* Αἰτέρνιος.

Χαιρήμων 2787 3, 8.
 Χάρμος *see* Πεκῦσις.
 Χριστοφόρος 2780 13.

᾽Ωριγένης, s. of Cornelius, wineseller (?) 2767 3, 25, 27, [31-2?].
 ᾽Ωρίων 2792 1.
 ᾽Ωρίων, Aur., *capsarius* 2798 3.
 ᾽Ωρίων, Aur., *strategus* 2766 3.
 ᾽Ωρίων *see* Σαραπίων.

VIII. GEOGRAPHICAL

(a) COUNTRIES, NOMES, TOPARCHIES, CITIES, ETC.

Αἴγυπτος 2760 1.
 Ἀλεξάνδρεια 2756 9, 12.
 Ἀμμωνιακός 2783 8.
 Ἀπριανός *see* Index X s.v. εἰλη Ἀ.
 Ἀνασιτικός 2783 9.
 Βρεττανικός *see* Index III.
 Γερμανικός *see* Index III.
 Δακικός *see* Index III.
 Ἡρακλεοπολιτῶν (πόλις) 2779 3.
 Ἡρακλέους πόλις 2785 2 2787 17.
 Κόπτος 2783 21.
 Κῶος 2771 2, 4, 11.
 Κῶων πόλις 2771 2.
 μέση (τοπαρχία) 2766 10-11.

Μικρά ᾽Οασις 2766 5-6, 17.
 ᾽Οασις 2793 6.
 ᾽Οασις *see* Μικρά ᾽Ο.
 ᾽Οασιτικός *see* Ἀνασιτικός.
 ᾽Οξυρυγίτης (nome) 2760 7 2763 1 2764 3 2766 3, 11 2767 2 2779 8.
 ᾽Οξυρυγιτῶν πόλις 2764 7 2766 4, 14 2768 7 2770 6 2779 4 2780 5, 9 2793 5 2795 3.
 ᾽Οξυρύγχων πόλις 2756 6 2758 3 2759 6 2761 3 2762 3 2763 6 2769 2 2773 3 2774 3 2776 2, [3] 2777 4 2800 3.
 Παρθικός *see* Index III.
 ᾽Ρωμαῖος 2777 11.
 ᾽Ρώμη 2755 11.

(b) VILLAGES, ETC.

ἐποίκιον πρότερον ἱερέων 2775 4.
 Θῶςβις 2795 8.
 Κερκεῦρα 2766 10.
 Νεοφύτου 2778 11.
 Νεσμεῖμις 2782 3.

Παγγουλείου (ἐποίκιον) 2779 8, 29.
 Πλεροῦτος (ἐποίκιον) 2795 6.
 Σινκέφα 2782 5.
 Σκώ 2776 7.
 Τάναις 2769 5.

(c) MISCELLANEOUS

Ἀλθαιεύς 2774 2.
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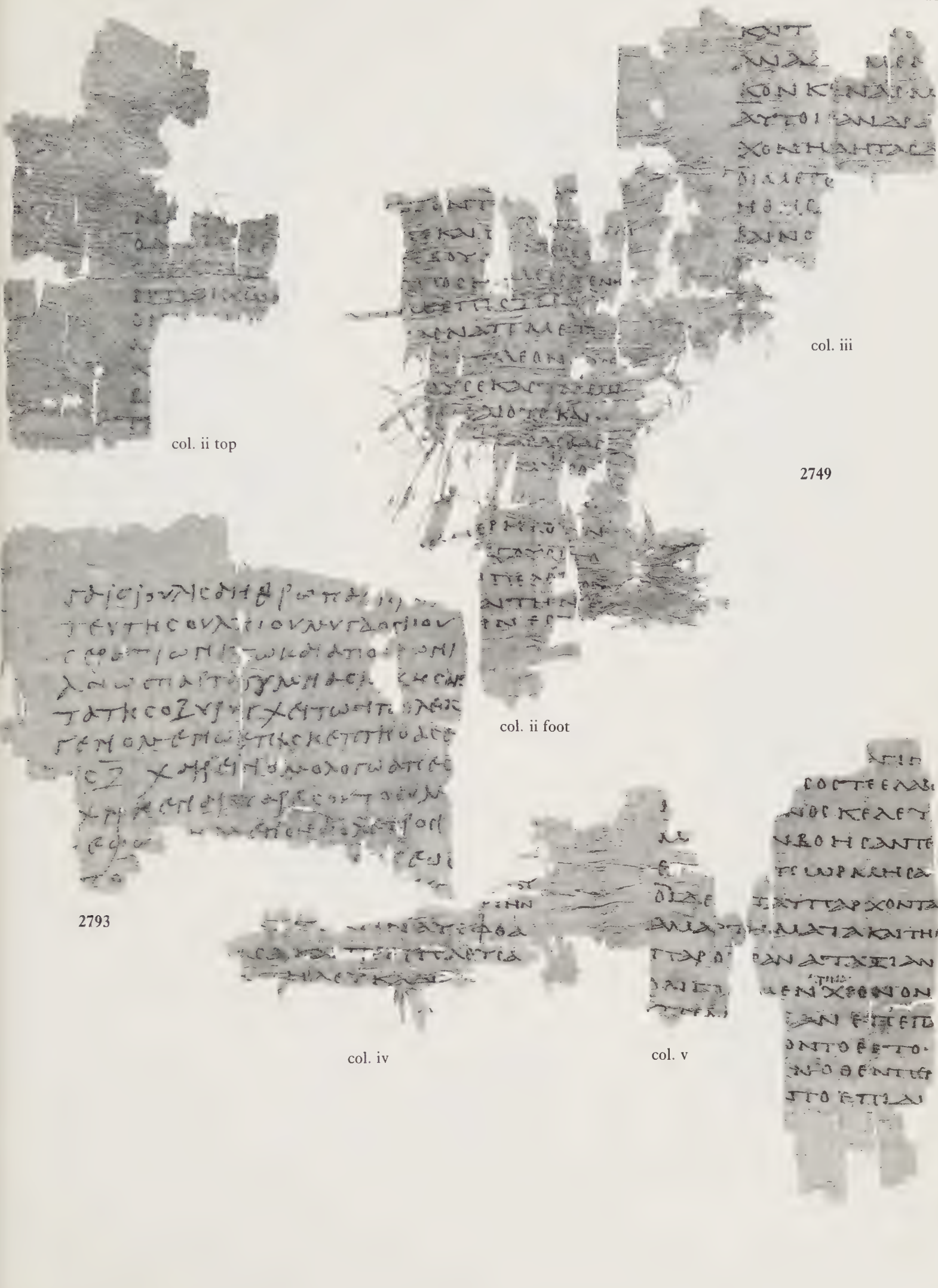
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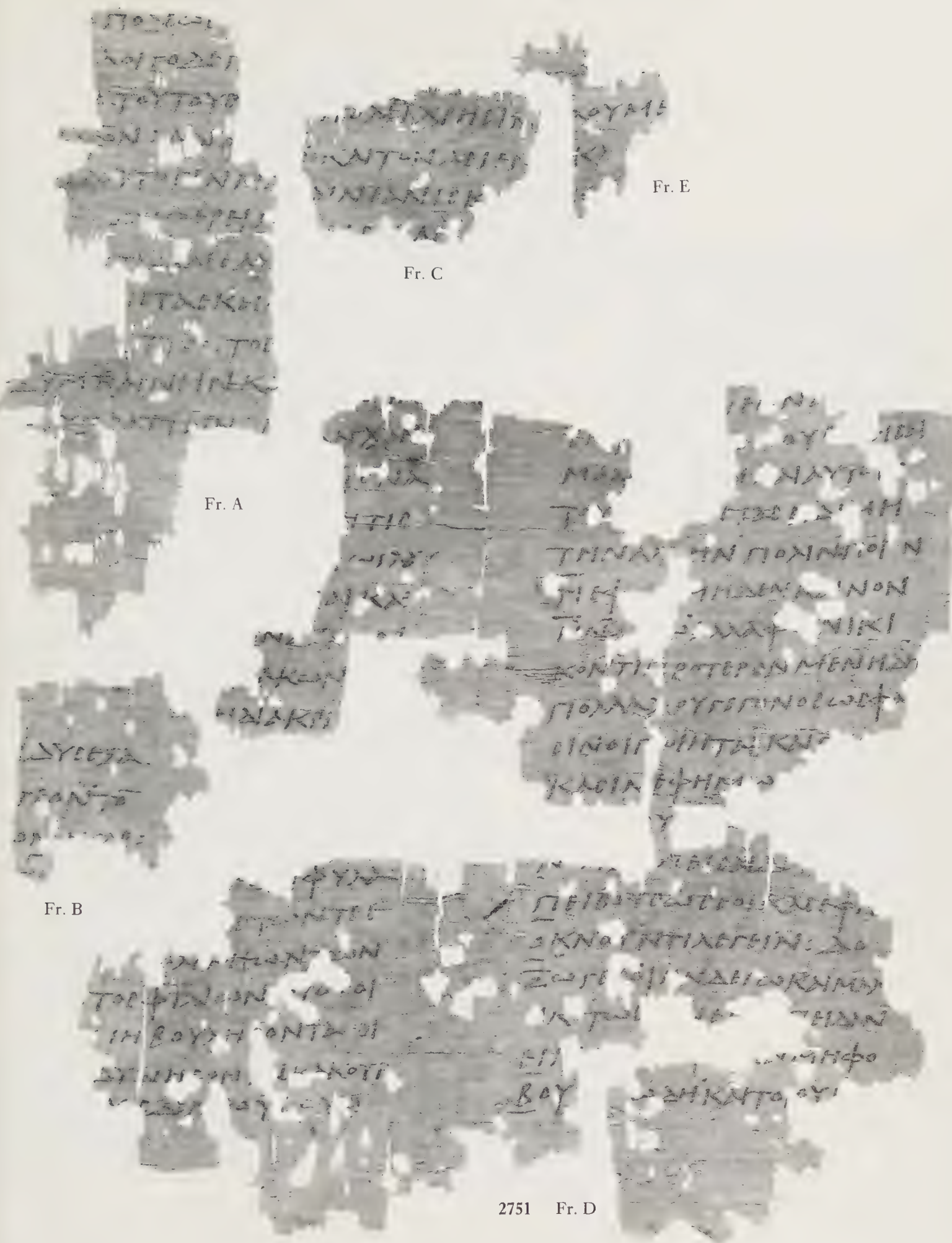
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